

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

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Peace Offensive

President Wilson Lloyd George
Count von Hertling Count Czernin

Russia Deserts the Allies

American Army in France

France's Claim to Alsace-Lorraine

Bernard Shaw on War Aims

Lithuania's Tragedy

Germany's Wrongs to U.S.

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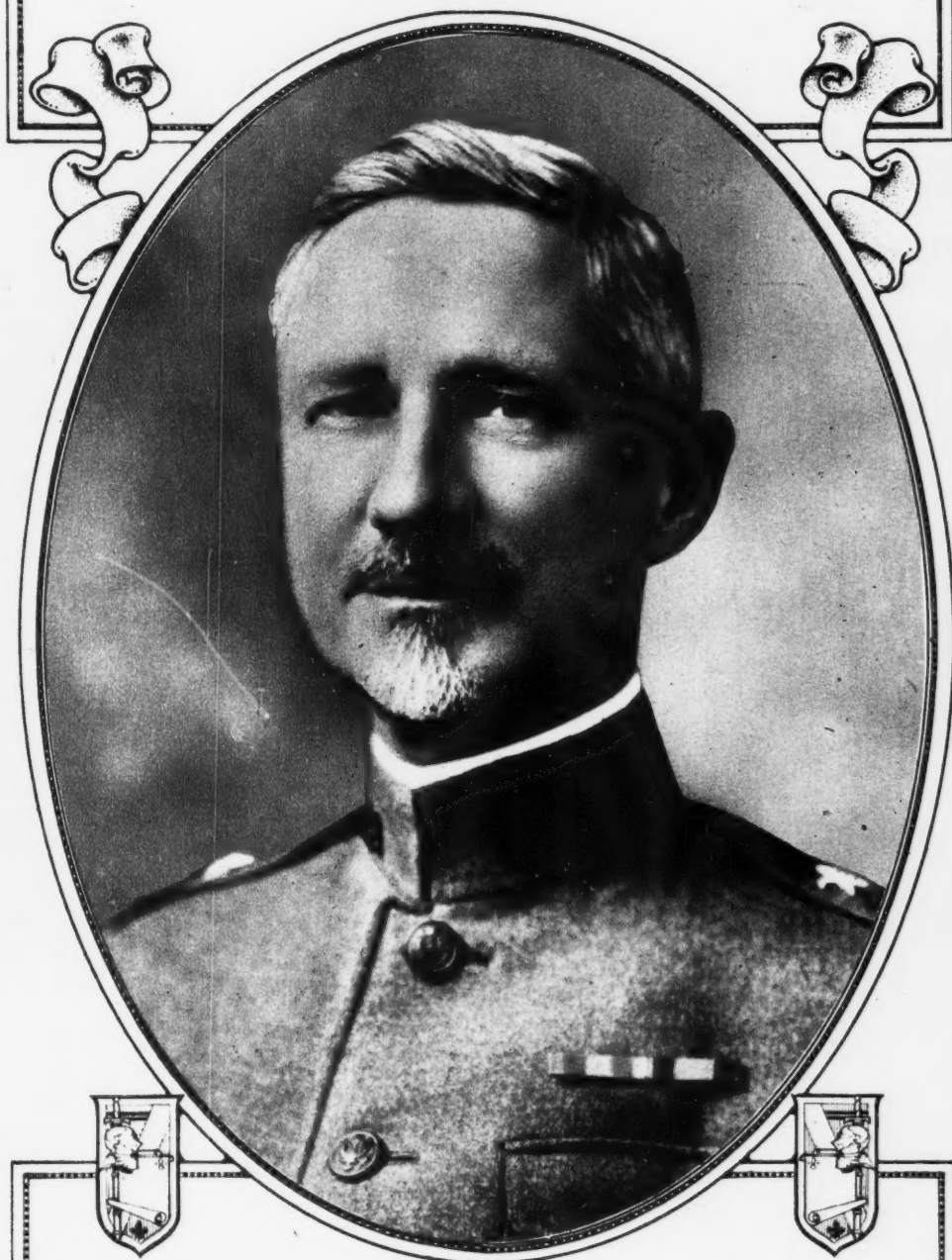
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MAJOR GENERAL PEYTON C. MARCH



Appointed Acting Chief of Staff of the United States Army,
succeeding General Bliss.

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GENERAL TASKER H. BLISS



Who has relinquished active duty as Chief of Staff of the United States Army to become American military representative on the Inter-Allied Council.

CURRENT HISTORY

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CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 18, 1918]

A BIRDSEYE VIEW OF THE MONTH'S WAR EVENTS

THE chief military engagement in the month under review occurred in the invaded region of Italy; in co-operation with British and French batteries, the Italians drove the Austrians from the positions which threatened the Venetian plains and captured several thousand prisoners; the pressure on the critical fronts by the invaders was relieved and immediate danger of a further offensive by the Austrians was removed. General Allenby made further advances beyond Jerusalem. On the western front there were numerous skirmishes and trench forays, but no operations of consequence were undertaken. The movement of troops by Germany from the east to the west deepened the conviction that this concentration was preliminary to an offensive on a wider scale than any since the first invasion.

Politically the month was replete with events of profound significance. Chief of these was the withdrawal of Russia from the rôle of belligerents and the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the Ukraine and the Central Powers. The situation in Russia up to the signing of the peace treaty is described in detail elsewhere. Events since then have followed in quick succession. Chief of these was the announcement that Germany refused to construe Russia's refusal to sign a treaty of peace as equivalent to her withdrawal as an enemy. It was declared that Russia's action automatically ended the armistice, which had expired Feb. 18, and that Germany would resume hostilities even to the extent of occupying Petrograd. There was no news from the Bolshevik Government to indicate whether a new offensive by Germany would be resisted. Russia's army was practically dissolved, and her powers of resistance seemed ended, except by leaderless bands of demobilized soldiers, who could easily be swept aside

by the German troops. The cession to the new Ukraine Republic by Austria of the Kholm district was bitterly denounced by the Poles as tantamount to another partition of Poland, and produced new alignments between the Poles, Slovaks, and Czechs in the Austrian Parliament, which foreshadowed serious political consequences. On Feb. 18 the German Government officially announced that the armistice had expired; the reports indicated that German troops would be sent to the aid of the anti-Bolshevist Rada in the Ukraine and the German military occupation of Courland, Esthonia, Livonia, and the Baltic ports extended and consolidated. There were reports of bloody excesses by lawless revolutionists in Petrograd on Feb. 18.

The interchange of views on peace through public addresses by President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George for the United States and Great Britain, and by the German and the Austrian Premiers was interpreted as amounting to a preliminary peace discussion at long range. These four historic addresses are given in full in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The reception of President Wilson's latest address by the chief newspapers of Germany and Austria was much less violent and denunciatory than that given to previous utterances. This change was interpreted as indicating that the conflict had moved a step nearer the end. It was announced that both Count Czernin and Count Hertling would deliver addresses in reply to the latest proposals of the President and Premier before March 1.

There was some agitation in political circles in the United States over the charge made by Senator Chamberlain, (Democrat,) Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, that the War Department had failed in its task, and over his introduction of a bill to create a War Cabinet. The Senator was pub-

licly rebuked by the President in scathing terms, but he persisted in his determination to reorganize the War Department and defended his statement in a Senate speech in which he reiterated his charges. Other speeches were delivered, some by Democrats in support of Senator Chamberlain; one Republican who participated up to Feb. 16 was Senator Weeks of Massachusetts, who repeated the charges of inefficiency and added that President Wilson was responsible for dragging politics into the situation. Meanwhile the effect of the agitation was plainly shown in the quick reorganization of the War and Munitions Departments and in a definite movement by the Executive to bring about in effect the results aimed at by the War Cabinet measure.

The movement of American troops to France continued without interruption, and it was understood that fully 500,000 were expected to be on French soil early in the Spring.

There was political excitement in Great Britain, due to the suspicion that the Lloyd George Government was practically displacing Generals Haig and Robertson by the Versailles Council, but the British Premier defeated his critics by a significant majority. The resignation of General Robertson as Chief of Staff and the appointment of Sub-Chief General Wilson in succession was announced, and indicated that the Government had determined to speed up the Chief Command.

In France the Clemenceau Cabinet and the national defense were materially strengthened by the conviction of Bolo Pacha for treason; the atmosphere of intrigue and doubt, which had weakened the French armies in the Spring of 1917, was entirely dispelled; it was felt, as a result, that the French morale was higher and more unconquerable than at any time during the war.

The serious strikes in Austria and Germany late in January and early in February were symptomatic of war weariness and the fruits of the Russian revolution: they were repressed by stern military measures, but their influence was felt in the Reichstag.

SIR DOUGLAS HAIG'S REPORT IN FULL

THIS issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE contains the text of the official report of Sir Douglas Haig on the battles of Arras, Messines, Ypres, also the operations in the Lens area and at Bullecourt against the Hindenburg line, with subsidiary undertakings between April 9, 1917, and the end of the Flanders offensive in November, 1917. It is estimated that the Germans had 131 divisions in these engagements, while the British had between 65 and 70.

The official report on the battle of Cambrai, which was fought on Nov. 20, will be covered later.

General Haig reports that the battle of Arras, which opened April 9 and closed May 5, was fought on a front of 16 to 20 miles. The British wrested from the enemy 60 square miles of French territory and captured over 20,000 prisoners, with 257 guns, including 98 of heavy calibre. In the battle of Messines 7,000 prisoners and 67 guns were captured and the objectives were attained. The third battle of Ypres began July 31 and continued intermittently through September and October, reaching its final stage Nov. 10 with the capture of Passchendaele. In this battle 78 German divisions were used, and the British captured 24,065 prisoners, 74 guns, 941 machine guns, and 138 trench mortars.

* * *

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF UKRAINIA

THE readiness of the Ukrainians to make peace with Austria is clear when it is remembered that the affiliations of the Ukraine were always rather with the West than with the North. The Ukraine grew up as a prolongation of the Kingdom of Poland, as a frontier State barring the advance of the Turks and Tartars and as a refuge for fugitives from Russia. In the days of the second Romanoff, Czar Alexei Mikhailovitch, the oppression exercised by the Polish feudal lords over the people of the Ukraine became so intolerable that a series of desperate revolts against Polish domination broke out, under the leadership of Bogdan Khmelnitzki. For years repeated appeals were made to Czar

Alexei to take the Ukraine under his protection; he finally consented in 1654, and, after a long war, the Ukraine was attached to Moscow as a semi-independent State.

Two tendencies then became active in the Ukraine: a movement for more complete assimilation with the Russian realm; and a countermovement toward nationalism and practical independence both of Poland and Russia. Under Peter the Great, the son of Czar Alexei, Mazzeppa headed a separatist movement in the year 1709, entering into an alliance with Charles XII. of Sweden, with whom Peter was at war. Peter completely triumphed over both his opponents. At first the Ukraine continued to elect its own Hetman, or Cossack Generalissimo, but the position gradually fell into abeyance as Russian administration extended itself throughout the Ukraine. Finally, under Catherine the Great, the Ukraine became an integral part of the Russian Empire, which it continued to be for a century and a quarter.

But the old separatist movement never quite died out. It was always strongly supported by Austria as successor to Southern Poland, (Galicia,) and Lemberg was made a strong centre of Ukrainian, anti-Russian propaganda, the practical object of which was to bring under Austrian influence the southwestern corner of Russia. It thus happened that, when the Russian Empire broke to pieces, there was a strong Ukrainian movement which was also strongly pro-Austrian; this led naturally to the separate peace with Austria, and to the annexation to Ukraina of the Polish district of Kholm, which has a considerable proportion of Ukrainian inhabitants.

* * *

RUMANIA AND BESSARABIA

WHILE the name of Rumania, or, more properly, Romania, is comparatively modern, the political existence of the Rumanian people is of old date. During the late Middle Ages the Rumanian Nation was divided into the twin principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and through considerable periods Rumanian-peopled Eastern Transylvania adhered to the two principalities. This

was true particularly in the days of Michael the Brave, who, with Vlad the Impaler, receives almost divine honors in Rumanian tradition. Michael reigned in the closing days of the English Queen Elizabeth. The northward expansion of Turkey after the capture of Constantinople presently submerged the principalities, but fell short of the grinding tyranny suffered by the Serbians and Bulgarians.

When, in the reign of Catherine the Great, the frontiers of Russia touched the margin of the Sultan's realm, the principalities became the inevitable battleground between Russian and Turk. By several treaties, Russia won considerable rights for the Rumanians, as by the treaty of Kutshuk Kainardji, in 1774. In 1808 the Russians once more occupied Wallachia and Moldavia, and, by the peace of Bucharest, in 1812, Bessarabia, which takes its name from the old Rumanian princely house of Bas-sarab, was ceded to Russia. In 1856, after the disastrous Crimean War, Russia was compelled to return to Turkey a strip of Bessarabia. Five years later the two principalities were practically separated from Turkey, and united under the name of Rumania.

After the war of 1877, in which Russia advanced almost to the walls of Constantinople, the Czar wished to recover the strip of Bessarabia which Russia had held from 1812 to 1856, but had been compelled to relinquish during a period of twenty-one years. But this meant a loss of territory to Rumania, which had come into existence precisely in that interval, and Rumania never really forgave this, though nominally accepting as compensation the Dobrudja—the quadrangle below the mouths of the Danube. It was probably the loss of the Bessarabian strip which drove Rumania secretly to join Germany and Austria about 1883, and the possibility of regaining a part or the whole of Bessarabia may induce Rumania once more to make a treaty with the Central Empires. Bessarabia is genuinely Rumanian; if ethnical reasons are conclusive, then it should be rejoined to the Rumanian realm.

THE LINES OF FRACTURE IN THE RUSSIAN REALM

THE genuinely national Russia is better described by its older title of Muscovy, or Moscovia, "the Land of Moscow," under which John Milton, author of "Paradise Lost," wrote an admirable history of that country, incorporating the very valuable records and vivid observations made by the early English expeditions to Russia by way of the White Sea, in the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth.

The region of which Moscow is the centre is uniform in race, language, and character; a genuine ethnical unit. From this central region the waves of conquest and expansion went north, west, south, and east during the whole three centuries of the Romanoff rule; and practically all that was thus added, since 1613, is not genuinely Russian in the ethnical sense. As a part of the movement which, in Milton's day, added the Ukraine to Moscovia, a war with Poland added to the dominion of the Czars the cities of Polotsk, Mohilev, and the rest of White Russia; Smolensk, Vilna, Grodno, Kovno, and the rest of Lithuania, as well as Lublin, which is distinctively Polish. The two partitions of Poland simply extended this movement further west. Dvinsk and Dorpat (Yuriev) were taken from Charles X. of Sweden during the same period; and the movement toward the northwest, (Courland, Esthonia, Livonia,) was completed by Peter the Great, when he conquered Charles XII. of Sweden.

This region on the Baltic and Gulf of Finland has, therefore, been a part of Russia for just over two centuries. In 1809 Finland passed from Swedish to Russian suzerainty, rounding out the northwestern expansion. The story of the Ukraine, to the southwest, has already been told. East of the Ukraine the Russian conquest of the Mussulman Tartars of the Crimea and Southern Volga was a slow process, lasting centuries; the conquest of the Caucasus was completed only in 1864; it included many tribes grouped under four nations: the Tartars and Circassians, both Mussulman; the Armenians and

Georgians. Turkestan was added to Russia by a campaign under Skobeleff and Kuropatkin, thus completing the expansion of Russia to the southeast, in the direction of India. These additions, therefore, to Moscovia, mark the natural lines of fracture in the dissolution of the Russian Empire. The position of Siberia is somewhat different.

* * *

SIBERIA AND RUSSIA'S PACIFIC LITTORAL

IN Shakespeare's day the region east of the Ural Mountains was still under Tartar and Turcoman rule, the final stages of the great movement of expansion started by Genghis Khan in the early thirteenth century. The town of Sibir was the capital of the region nearest the Urals. A Cossack adventurer, Yermak, crossed the Urals about 1580, in the reign of John the Terrible, almost the last ruler of the old dynasty of Rurik. He captured Sibir and offered the territory to the Russian Czar. By 1628 the Russians had reached the River Lena. In 1637 they built the fort of Yakutsk. Between 1631 and 1641 they fought the Buddhist Buryats about Lake Baikal, where there is now a ferry of the Siberian Railroad. In 1650 Khabarov reached the Amur, which flows into the Pacific. But the Chinese blocked Russian advance in this direction for just two centuries. In 1648 the Cossack Dejnev, sailing from the River Kolyma, (160° east longitude,) reached the strait later named after Bering, who rediscovered it in 1728. In 1741 Captain Vitus Bering and Chirikov explored Alaska, which then became Russian territory and so remained for a century and a quarter. In 1784 a Russian settlement was established at Kodiak. In 1852 Muraviev explored the Amur and immediate Russian colonization followed, China recognizing Russian occupation by treaty in 1860, while the explorer received the title of Count Muraviev of the Amur. Finally, while Count Cassini was Russia's representative at Peking, a treaty gave Russia certain advantages in Manchuria, with a terminal at Port Arthur, which Russia lost in the Japanese war of 1905, with the southern half of the bleak island of Sakhalin. There was an ironical pro-

posals to confer on the statesman who negotiated the peace with Japan the title of Count Witte of Half-Sakhalin. Taking the more than 4,000,000 square miles of Siberia, with its population not much larger than that of Scotland, more than 80 per cent. of its inhabitants are of Russian blood, while there are about a million natives remote kindred of the Aleuts and Eskimo. But these native tribes can hardly be called nations. They are more accurately an ethnical museum.

* * *

JUNIOR OFFICERS' PAY

IT was announced in London, in the middle of January, that the War Cabinet had decided to increase the pay of junior officers in the British Army and Navy, the principle adopted being that the minimum rate for an army officer should be half a guinea, or 10s. and 6d. a day. For convenience in comparison, we give the equivalents of the new rates of British Army pay in American money, taking the pound sterling as equal to \$4.80, or taking the cent as equal to a halfpenny. Under the new scale, the pay of British junior officers will be:

	—Per Day.—	Per Month.
Second Lieutenant...10s. 6d.	\$2.52	\$75.60
Lieutenant11s. 6d.	2.74	82.20
Captain13s. 6d.	3.24	97.20
Major18s. 0d.	4.32	129.60
Lieutenant Colonel...23s. 0d.	5.52	165.60

In the middle of February Mr. Baker, Secretary of War, requested the Chairmen of the Military Affairs Committees of Congress to provide legislation immediately granting certain allowances to all officers on field service in the United States and in foreign lands, which will practically amount to increased pay. It was found that an officer doing desk duty in Washington received allowances, while an officer living in a tent in France received nothing but his pay; for example, a Colonel occupying a chair in the War Department receives pay of \$444.14 a month, while a Colonel in camp or in France receives \$333.33, or a quarter less.

The monthly pay of American officers

of the same rank as in the British list is at present as follows:

	Monthly Pay.
Second Lieutenant	\$141.67
Lieutenant	166.67
Captain	200.00
Major	250.00
Lieutenant Colonel	291.67

* * *

REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA'S FINANCES

DETAILS have just been received in this country of a statement made by M. Nekrasoff, then Minister of Finance, at the Moscow Conference in August, 1917—details which shed a somewhat ominous light upon the internal situation of Russia, as expressed in financial terms. During the war months of 1914, the issue of Russian paper money amounted to \$109,500,000 per month; during 1915 it amounted to \$111,500,000 per month; during 1916 to \$145,000,000 a month; during the five revolutionary months, from March to August, 1917, the issue of paper money rose to the enormous sum of \$416,000,000 per month, from three to four times that under the Imperial Government. At the same time, said M. Nekrasoff, all revenue enormously declined during the first months of the revolution; in August it had almost completely ceased; and the Minister of Finance went on to say that any measures of confiscation or expropriation of capital or real estate would lead to the complete disappearance of revenue, and would react disastrously upon the people at large. Further, the revolution had almost stopped the output of textiles, so that, it was stated at the Moscow Conference, the total visible supply of cotton cloths in August, 1917, amounted to only seven inches of material per head of the Russian population. So the peasants had to go about in rags or skins, reverting to the costume of the cave man. The cities of Russia are now living on the money and food set apart for the armies which have been disbanded. When these come to an end, no alternative to starvation seems to exist. Even the villages will suffer greatly, owing to the huge areas left uncultivated. The Petrograd Soviet pay roll was \$350,000 monthly.

FOOD PRICES IN SWITZERLAND

IT is reported that there is an ample quantity of food in Switzerland, but that prices have more than doubled since 1914. Food is rationed as follows, with prices in centimes, each centime being approximately one-fifth of a cent:

	Ration.	1914. C'times.	1918. C'times.
Bread	225 grs. daily (nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.)	7 2-5	15 $\frac{1}{4}$
Milk	6 litres daily (about 1 pint.)	10 4-5	18-19 4-5
Butter	100 grs. monthly (about $3\frac{1}{2}$ oz.)	32	65
Rice	400 grs. monthly (about 14 oz.)	20	40
Sugar	600 grs. monthly (about 1lb. 5oz.)	28 4-5	77
Macaroni ...	250 grs. monthly (nearly 9 oz.)	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	33
Corn	250 grs. monthly (nearly 9 oz.)	5	20

Persons engaged in especially hard manual labor receive an additional 50 grams of bread a day. There is a monthly ration of 150 grams of butter and 350 grams of oil and fat. The following are the prices for unrationed commodities, those marked (*) being temporarily unobtainable:

	1914. C'times.	1918. C'times.
Meat, 500 grs., (11-10 lb.)..	90	185
*Lard, " " ..	90	400
Tea, " " ..	300	700
Coffee, " " ..	120-130	180-250
*Oatmeal, " " ..	16-30	69
Cheese, " " ..	170	180-200
Potatoes, " " ..	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	20
Wool, " " ..	275	850
Coal, " " ..	3	12
Eggs, each, (average).....	10	30
Cotton, 1 meter, (approx- imately 1 1-10 yd.).....	65-80	200-220
Soap, Sunlight, 1 piece.....	35-40	120
Firewood, beech, 1 cubic meter	1,700	2,900
*Oil, olive, 1 litre, (1 7-10 pt.)	150-180	520

A London Times correspondent reports the following:

A somewhat belated attempt is being made to increase the agricultural output. There are said to be between 20,000 and 30,000 deserters from various armies—none are English—in Switzerland at the present moment, and it is proposed to make them work on the land. Many country hotel keepers have been unable to keep going. In the large towns, on the other hand, the hotels have never been more prosperous. Accommodation in Berne, for instance, is practically unobtainable. As in the case of other neutral countries, there has been much money

made in the war by those who had anything to sell.

* * *

A MONTH'S AIR RAIDS

AIR raids on leading cities of Europe marked the early weeks of 1918. On the nights of Jan. 29 and 30 German aviators made two attacks on the south-east coast of England and on London. The casualties in the first were: Killed, 58; injured, 173; and in the second: Killed, 10; injured, 10. On Jan. 30, 1918, Paris was attacked by air raiders for the first time since July 27, 1917. The number of persons killed was 20; injured, 50. One of the German machines was brought down and its crew captured. The German official account of the raid on Paris read:

On Christmas Eve and during January enemy aviators, in spite of our warning, again dropped bombs on open German towns outside the region of operations. Thanks to our measures of defense the losses and damage were slight. As a reprisal fourteen tons of bombs were dropped last night on the City of Paris in our first systematic attack from the air.

According to the British official communication of Jan. 14, a daylight air raid was made on Karlsruhe, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Baden. One and a quarter tons of bombs were dropped on factories and railway tracks. Bursts of flame were seen to follow the explosions. Observers reported that a very large fire was started in the factories alongside the railway, which was confirmed by photographs taken after the raid. This was not the first time Karlsruhe was visited by allied airmen, several raids having been made in 1917, and earlier in the war. More extensive aerial operations against German towns were carried out on Jan. 24 by British aviators, who, according to official report, made direct hits on factories, docks, and in the town of Mannheim. The barracks and railway station at Treves, the steel works at Thionville, and the railway stations at Saarbrücken and Oberbillig also were attacked. The pilots reported large explosions at all objectives, and a big fire at Treves.

An attack was made on Venice on Feb. 3, when a number of bombs fell into the water at the eastern end of the Grand Canal. One fell near the Church of

Santa Maria del Giglio, another in the Calle Furlain, and three on the Lido. No one was killed. At Mestre, a suburb of Venice, the Church of San Lorenzo was almost entirely destroyed by bombs. The raid made it clear that the belief that the enemy had decided to respect the remaining art treasures of Venice was ill-founded. Padua was visited by enemy airplanes on Feb. 5. Buildings in the centre of the city were damaged, and a few persons injured.

* * *

A SOLDIER'S LIFE IN FRANCE

LIEUTENANT MILTON SEE, Jr., of the Coast Artillery, U. S. R., in a letter written Oct. 12, 1917, from France, refers to the cordiality of the greetings to Americans by the French soldiers in the following terms:

We have become well acquainted with many of the French officers, who have treated us like kings. They have given us all the privileges of their officers' club, where we can drop in in our spare time and play bridge with them and gossip over tea and coffee and the ever-present wine of the country.

The French "Capitaine" gave a dinner in our honor the other night, at which Generals Muteau and Mounier were present. The French and American officers alternated at the long tables, which, of course, were loaded down with wine and champagne.

After the meal, which was thoroughly French, the "Capitaine" made a speech in English and repeated it in French. He touched on the close relations between France and America, Washington, Lafayette, Rochambeau, &c., and evoked very much enthusiasm on both sides. The band played the "Marseillaise" and "Star-Spangled Banner," and there were toasts to Presidents Wilson, Poincaré, and the armies of France and America, now fighting side by side. We then treated them to some choice selections of American ragtime, and they came back with a lot of French songs. When we were getting our hats and coats on, one of our fellows started to play "Tipperary," and the Frenchmen went wild. They threw their caps in the air and grabbed ours, and burst out of the place. Outside they started a "snake dance" and, singing "Tipperary," wound down past the old cathedral and through the nearly deserted streets of the town in one grand rough house. After many a "Vive la France" and "Vivent les Etats-Unis," and a few more cheers and songs, every one called it a night and went home to bed.

The next night they gave a show in our

honor. Every one of the actors was in the army. This is nothing extraordinary, as everything in pants seems to be in uniform—even Arabians, Turks, and French Indo-Chinese, who work in the munitions factories. * * *

The railroads treat the soldiers generously in this country, as it costs us only about \$2.50 for a first-class fare which takes all together eight hours. The dearth of men is very noticeable, especially in France. Women run the stores, theatres, and are conductresses on the tramways, &c. Nearly every one is in mourning, and the convalescent wounded are everywhere.

* * *

HINDENBURG THROUGH GERMAN EYES

THE worship of General Hindenburg in Germany is almost universal, and the entire newspaper press is fulsome in its flattery. A newspaper editor named Auernheimer, in a recent publication, gives his impression of the General in the following terms:

Hindenburg's appearance is immense, but it is one of greater tenderness and goodness than his picture would lead one to gather. To me also his head is lighter, his features clearer, the expression less forbidding than in the best-known pictures. This was my first impression as I looked through the half-open doors of his reception room and saw the mighty figure of the Field Marshal in profile as he greeted his guests singly with German thoroughness and punctilio.

Hindenburg has not a face to which justice can be done by the photographer or portrait painter. You only see him as he is when he is in motion. In repose he is the buttoned-up soldier, with stern and forbidding demeanor. But in any case it is a face you can never forget. [Then follow details of forehead, cheeks, eyes, and mustache, neck, upper lip, and of a remarkable "serpent line," whatever that may be.]

When we approach him we feel like Gulliver in the land of the Brobdingnags. Like Odysseus, Hindenburg appears greater when sitting than standing. As we all sat at a round table with him, we felt that he overtopped us as an Alpine summit overtops its foothills.

* * *

A DISPATCH from Paris on Feb. 10 stated that General Cadorna, former Commander in Chief of the Italian Army, had been replaced as Italian delegate to the Supreme War Council by General Gaetano Giardino, Assistant Chief of Staff to General Diaz, the present Italian Commander in Chief.

DURING 1917 the British took 114,544 prisoners and 781 guns, divided as follows:

	British			
	Captures.—	Losses.—		
	Prison- ers.	Prison- ers.	Guns.	Guns.
Western theatre...	73,131	531	27,200	166
			(Approx.)	
Salonki.....	1,095	...	202	...
Palestine	17,646	108	610	...
Mesopotamia	15,944	124	267	...
East Africa	6,728	18	100	...
Total	114,544	781	28,379	166

* * *

DURING January, 1918, the total British casualties were 1,484 officers and 72,912 men, of whom 368 officers and 13,980 men were killed or died of wounds. The figures for September, October, November, and December were:

Officers	2,938	Men	109,200
Officers	6,205	Men	80,195
Officers	4,906	Men	124,896
Officers	3,984	Men	59,031

The casualties in the Admiralty during January were 84 officers and 1,357 men, of whom 44 officers and 456 men were killed.

* * *

BOLO PACHA, the Frenchman with a Levantine title, was convicted of high treason by a court-martial at Paris on Feb. 14 and sentenced to death. The case was appealed. Bolo was charged with having received large sums of money—through American banks and other institutions—from German sources, and with having undertaken to purchase or corrupt French newspapers with a view to producing internal unrest and thus discourage the prosecution of the war. The testimony was conclusive. His activities were said to be part of the general movement which former Premier Caillaux was charged with engineering, and for which he is in prison awaiting trial on charges of treason.

* * *

BESSARABIA AND THE DOBRUDJA

BESSARABIA, a triangular territory on the Black Sea and the Rumanian border, is preponderantly Rumanian in race and tongue. As a part of the Turkish Empire, it was ceded to Russia at the beginning of the nineteenth century, its western half being again lost by Russia

after the disastrous Crimean war. But Russia demanded this piece of territory again in 1878, when she was at the gates of Constantinople, disregarding the fact that it had since become a part of restored Rumania and strongly Rumanian in sentiment. Russia demanded, as compensation for Rumania, the Dobrudja, the square block of land between the lower Danube and the Black Sea, which Rumania accepted, though cherishing bitter resentment against Russia.

The Dobrudja is peopled chiefly by Turks and Bulgarians, and has always been claimed by Bulgaria. In 1913, when the threat of Rumanian intervention against Bulgaria, on the side of Greece, Serbia, and Turkey, compelled Bulgaria to surrender, Rumania exacted an added slice of the Dobrudja as her compensation. This incensed Bulgaria, and was a contributing cause of the alliance between Bulgaria and the Central Powers. According to the principle of nationalities, it would seem that the arrangement of 1878 should be reversed, Bessarabia going back to Rumania, while the Dobrudja would revert to Bulgaria, which at present holds it by armed force.

* * *

THE daily rations of prisoners of war in England consist of the following:

PER DAY.			
	Ozs.		Ozs.
Bread	9	Salt	½
Broken biscuit....	4	Potatoes	20
Meat (five days a week; pickled beef on one of these days).....	6	Other fresh vegetables	4
Salt-cured herrings (two days a week)	10	Split peas or beans	2
Tea	¼	Rice	1
Or coffee.....	½	Margarine	1
Sugar	1	Oatmeal	1
		Jam	1
		Cheese	2
		Pepper	1-72
		Maize meal.....	½

* * *

SIR WILLIAM GOODE, in a statement made at London Feb. 13, announced that the self-denial in food consumption that had been practiced by the American people within three months as a result of the conservation campaign had resulted in a surplus of food available for Great Britain of 150,000,000 pounds of bacon and 25,000,000 pounds of frozen meat in excess of what had previously been estimated as likely to be available.

THE PEACE OFFENSIVE

Official Peace Declarations of President Wilson, Premier Lloyd George, Count Hertling, and Count Czernin

What amounts to a long-distance exchange of peace negotiations between the Allies and the Central Powers took place in the period beginning with President Wilson's war-aims address to Congress on Jan. 8, 1918. This was preceded, on Jan. 5, by an address by Premier Lloyd George to the labor unions of England, in which the war aims of Great Britain were restated. Both these addresses were printed in full in the February CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. Count Hertling, the German Imperial Chancellor, replied to these addresses before the Main Committee of the Reichstag on Jan. 24, and Foreign Minister Czernin replied the same day before the Austrian Parliament, President Wilson replied to both of these declarations in an address to Congress on Feb. 11, and Premier Lloyd George replied in Parliament on Feb. 12. The last four addresses are given herewith in the order in which they were delivered before their respective bodies.

The German Chancellor's Reply to America and Great Britain

[Delivered before the Reichstag Main Committee, Jan. 24, 1918]

After referring to the negotiations with the Russians at Brest-Litovsk and saying that he held fast to the hope that a good conclusion would be arrived at, both with the Bolsheviki and with the Ukrainians, the Chancellor continued:

THE Russians last month proposed to issue an invitation to all the belligerents to participate in the negotiations. Russia submitted certain proposals of a very general character. At that time we accepted the proposal to invite the belligerents to take part in the negotiations, on the condition, however, that the invitation should have a definite period for its acceptance. At 10 o'clock on the evening of Jan. 4 the period expired. No answer had come, and as a result we were no longer under obligations and had a free hand for separate peace negotiations with Russia. Neither

were we longer bound, of course, by the general peace proposals submitted to us by the Russian delegation.

Instead of the reply which was expected but which was not forthcoming, two declarations were made by enemy statesmen—Lloyd George's speech and President Wilson's speech. I willingly admit that Lloyd George altered his tone. He no longer indulges in abuse, and appears desirous of again demonstrating his ability as a negotiator, which I had formerly doubted.

I cannot go so far, however, as many opinions which have been expressed in neutral countries, which would read in this speech of Lloyd George a serious desire for peace, and even a friendly disposition. It is true he declares he does not desire to destroy Germany, and never desired to destroy her. He has even

words of respect for our political, economic, and cultural position. But other utterances also are not lacking, and the idea continually comes to the surface that he has to pronounce judgment on Germany, charging her with being guilty of all possible crimes.

That is an attitude with which we can have nothing to do, and in which we can discover no trace of a serious purpose to attain peace. We are to be the guilty ones, over whom the Entente is now sitting in judgment.

That compels me to give a short review of the situation and the events preceding the war, at the risk of repeating what long ago was said. The establishment of the German Empire in the year 1871 made an end of dismemberment. By the union of its tribes the German Empire in Europe acquired a position corresponding to its economic and cultural achievements and the claims founded thereon.

Bismarck crowned his work by the alliance with Austria-Hungary. It was purely a defensive alliance, so conceived and willed by the exalted allies from the first. Not even the slightest thought of its misuse for aggressive aims ever occurred in the course of decades. The defensive alliance between Germany and the Danube monarchy, closely connected by old traditions and allied to us by common interest, was to serve especially for maintenance of peace.

SAYS GERMANY WAS MENACED

But Bismarck had even then, as he was often reproached for having, an obsession in regard to coalitions, and events of subsequent time have shown it was no vision of terror. The danger of hostile coalitions which menaced the allied Central Powers often made its appearance. By King Edward's isolation policy the dream of coalitions became a reality. The German Empire, progressing and growing in strength, stood in the way of British imperialism. In French lust of revenge and Russian aspirations of expansion this British imperialism found only too ready aid. Thus future plans, dangerous for us, were formed.

The geographical situation of Germany in itself had always brought near to us

the danger of war on two fronts, and now it became increasingly visible. Between Russia and France an alliance was concluded whose participants were twice as numerous as the population of the German Empire and Austria-Hungary. Republican France lent the Russia of the Czar billions to construct strategical railways in the Kingdom of Poland, in order to facilitate an advance against us. The French Republic drew on its last man for three years of service. Thus France, with Russia, built up armaments extending to the limit of the capabilities of both, thereby pursuing aims which our enemies now term imperialistic.

It would have been a neglect of duty had Germany remained a calm spectator of this game and had we not also endeavored to create an armament which would protect us against future enemies. I may, perhaps, recall that I, as a member of the Reichstag, very frequently spoke on these matters, and, on the occasion of new expenditures on armament, pointed out that the German people, in consenting to these, solely desired to pursue a policy of peace, and that such armaments were only imposed upon us to ward off the danger threatening from a possible enemy. It does not appear that any regard was paid to these words abroad.

CLAIMS ALSACE-LORRAINE

And Alsace-Lorraine, of which Lloyd George speaks again? He speaks of the wrong Germany did in 1871 to France. Alsace-Lorraine—you need not be told, but abroad they appear still to be ignorant of things—Alsace-Lorraine comprises, as is known, for the most part purely German regions which by a century of violence and illegality were severed from the German Empire, until finally the French Revolution swallowed up the last remnant. Alsace and Lorraine then became French provinces.

When, in the war of 1870, we demanded back the districts which had been criminally wrested from us, that was not a conquest of foreign territory, but, rightly and properly speaking, what today is called disannexation. This disannexation was then expressly recognized by the

French National Assembly, the constitutional representatives of the French people at that time, March 29, 1871, by a large majority of votes.

And in England, too, gentlemen, language quite other than is heard today has been heard. I can appeal to a classic witness. It is none other than the famous British historian and author, Thomas Carlyle, who in a letter to *The Times* in December, 1870, wrote:

No people has had such a bad neighbor as Germany has possessed during the last 400 years in France. Germany would have been mad had she not thought of erecting a frontier wall between herself and such a neighbor when opportunity offered.

Observe that I have not repeated a very hard expression which Carlyle used about France. I know of no law of nature, no resolution of heavenly Parliaments, whereby France alone of all earthly beings was not obliged to restore stolen territories if the owners from whom they had been snatched had an opportunity of reconquering them. And respected English press organs expressed themselves in a like sense. I mention, for example, *The Daily News*.

REPLY TO WILSON TERMS

I now come to President Wilson. Here, too, I recognize that the tone appears to have changed. The unanimous rejection of Mr. Wilson's attempt, in reply to the Pope's note, to sow discord between the German Government and the German people has had its effect. This unanimous rejection might of itself lead Mr. Wilson on the right path. A beginning to that end has perhaps been made, for now there is at any rate no longer talk about oppression of the German people by an autocratic Government, and the former attacks on the House of Hohenzollern have not been repeated.

I will not enlarge upon the distorted representation of German policy which is contained in Mr. Wilson's message, but will deal in detail with the points which Mr. Wilson lays down there—not less than fourteen points, in which he formulates his peace program—and I pray your indulgence in dealing with these as briefly as possible.

The first point is the demand that there

shall be no more secret international agreements. History shows that it is we above all others who would be able to agree to the publicity of diplomatic documents. I recall that our defensive alliance with Austria-Hungary was known to the whole world from 1888, while the offensive agreement of the enemy States first saw the light of publicity during the war, through the revelations of the secret Russian archives. The negotiations at Brest-Litovsk are being conducted with full publicity. This proves that we are quite ready to accept this proposal and declare publicity of negotiations to be a general political principle.

In his second point Mr. Wilson demands freedom of shipping on the seas in war and peace. This also is demanded by Germany as the first and one of the most important requirements for the future. Therefore, there is here no difference of opinion. The limitation introduced by Mr. Wilson at the end, which I need not quote textually, is not intelligible, appears superfluous, and would therefore best be left out.

[The limiting clause reads "except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants."]

It would, however, be highly important for the freedom of shipping in future if strongly fortified naval bases on important international routes, such as England has at Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Hongkong, the Falkland Islands, and many other places, were removed.

Point 3. We, too, are in thorough accord with the removal of economic barriers which interfere with trade in a superfluous manner. We, too, condemn economic war which would inevitably bear within it causes of future warlike complications.

LIMITING ARMAMENTS

Point 4. Limitation of armaments: As already declared by us, the idea of limitation of armaments is entirely discussable. The financial position of all European States after the war might most effectively promote a satisfactory solution. It is therefore clear that an understanding might be reached with-

out difficulty on the first four points of Mr. Wilson's program.

I now come to the fifth point—settlement of all colonial claims and disputes. Practical realization of Mr. Wilson's principles in the realm of reality will encounter some difficulties in any case. I believe that for the present it may be left for England, which has the greatest colonial empire, to make what she will of this proposal of her ally. This point of the program also will have to be discussed in due time, on the reconstitution of the world's colonial possessions, which we also demand absolutely.

Point 6. Evacuation of Russian territory: Now that the Entente has refused, within the period agreed upon by Russia and the Quadruple Alliance, to join in the negotiations, I must in the name of the latter decline to allow any subsequent interference. We are dealing here with questions which concern only Russia and the four allied powers. I adhere to the hope that, with recognition of self-determination for the peoples on the western frontier of the former Russian Empire, good relations will be established, both with these peoples and with the rest of Russia, for whom we wish most earnestly a return of order, peace, and conditions guaranteeing the welfare of the country.

BELGIUM AS A PAWN

Point 7. Belgium: My predecessors in office repeatedly declared that at no time did the annexation of Belgium to Germany form a point in the program of German policy. The Belgian question belongs to those questions the details of which are to be settled by negotiation at the peace conference. So long as our opponents have unreservedly taken the standpoint that the integrity of the Allies' territory can offer the only possible basis of peace discussion, I must adhere to the standpoint hitherto always adopted and refuse the removal in advance of the Belgian affair from the entire discussion.

Point 8. The occupied parts of France are a valuable pawn in our hands. Here, too, forcible annexation forms no part of the official German policy. The conditions and methods of procedure of the

evacuation, which must take account of Germany's vital interests, are to be agreed upon between Germany and France.

I can only again expressly accentuate the fact that there can never be a question of the dismemberment of imperial territory. Under no fine phrases of any kind shall we permit the enemy again to take from us territory of the empire which with ever increasing intimacy has linked itself to Germanism, which has in highly gratifying manner ever and increasingly developed in an economic respect, and of whose people more than 87 per cent. speak the German mother tongue.

The questions dealt with by Mr. Wilson under Points 9, 10, and 11 touch both the Italian frontier question and questions of the future development of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the future of the Balkan States; questions in which, for the greater part, the interests of our ally, Austria-Hungary, preponderate. Where German interests are concerned we shall defend them most energetically.

But I may leave the answer to Mr. Wilson's proposals on these points in the first place to the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister. Close contact with the allied Dual Monarchy forms the kernel of our present policy, and must be the guiding line in the future. Loyal comradeship in arms, which has stood the test so brilliantly in wartime, must continue to have its effect in peace. We shall thus on our part do everything for the attainment of peace by Austria-Hungary which takes into account her just claims.

The matters touched upon by Mr. Wilson in Point 12 concern our loyal, brave ally, Turkey. I must in nowise forestall her statesmen in their attitude. The integrity of Turkey and the safeguarding of her capital, which is connected closely with the question of the strait, are important and vital interests of the German Empire also. Our ally can always count upon our energetic support in this matter.

Point 13 deals with Poland. It was not the Entente—which had only empty words for Poland and before the war

never interceded for Poland with Russia—but the German Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy which liberated Poland from the Czaristic régime which was crushing her national characteristics. It may thus be left to Germany and Austria-Hungary and Poland to come to an agreement on the future constitution of this country. As the negotiations and communications of the last year prove, we are on the road to this goal.

The last point, the 14th, deals with a bond of the nations. Regarding this point, I am sympathetically disposed, as my political activity shows, toward every idea which eliminates for the future a possibility or a probability of war, and will promote a peaceful and harmonious collaboration of nations. If the idea of a bond of nations, as suggested by President Wilson, proves on closer examination really to be conceived in a spirit of complete justice and complete impartiality toward all, then the Imperial Government is gladly ready, when all other pending questions have been settled, to begin the examination of the basis of such a bond of nations.

THE PERORATION

Gentlemen, you have acquainted yourselves with the speech of Premier Lloyd George and the proposals of President Wilson. We now must ask ourselves whether these speeches and proposals breathe a real and earnest wish for peace. They certainly contain certain principles for a general world peace, to which we also assent, and which might form the starting point and aid negotiations.

When, however, concrete points come into the question, points which for us allies are of decisive importance, their peace will is less observable. Our enemies do not desire to destroy Germany, but they cast covetous eyes on parts of our allies' lands. They speak with respect of Germany's position, but their conception, ever afresh, finds expression as if we were the guilty who must do penance and promise improvement. Thus speaks the victor to the vanquished, he who interprets all our former expressions of a readiness for peace as merely a sign of weakness.

The leaders of the Entente must first renounce this standpoint and this deception. In order to facilitate this I would like to recall what the position really is. They may take it from me that our military position was never so favorable as it now is. Our highly gifted army leaders face the future with undiminished confidence in victory. Throughout the army, in the officers and the men, lives unbroken the joy of battle.

I will remind you of the words I spoke Nov. 29 in the Reichstag. Our repeatedly expressed willingness for peace and the spirit of reconciliation revealed by our proposals must not be regarded by the Entente as a license permitting the indefinite lengthening of the war. Should our enemies force us to prolong the war they will have to bear the consequences resulting from it.

If the leaders of the enemy powers really are inclined toward peace let them revise their program once again, or, as Premier Lloyd George said, proceed to reconsideration.

INVITES NEW PROPOSALS

If they do that and come forward with fresh proposals, then we will examine them carefully, because our aim is no other than the re-establishment of a lasting general peace. But this lasting general peace is not possible so long as the integrity of the German Empire and the security of her vital interests and the dignity of our Fatherland are not guaranteed. Until that time we must quietly stand by each other and wait.

As to our purpose, gentlemen, we are all one. Regarding methods and "moralities," there may be differences of opinion, but let us shelve all those differences. Let us not fight about formulas, which always fall short in the mad course of world events, but above the dividing line of party controversies let us keep our eyes on one mutual aim—the welfare of the Fatherland. Let us hold together the Government and the nation, and victory will be ours. A good peace will and must come.

The German Nation bears in an admirable manner the sufferings and the burdens of a war which now is in its fourth year. In connection with these

burdens and sufferings I think especially of the sufferings of the small artisans and the lowly paid officials. But you all, men and women, will hold on and see it through.

With your political knowledge, you do

not allow yourselves to be fooled by catch phrases. You know how to distinguish between the realities of life and the promises of dreams. Such a nation cannot go under. God is with us and will be with us also in the future.

Count Czernin's Reply on Behalf of Austria-Hungary

[Delivered before the Austrian Parliament, Jan. 24, 1918]

IT is my duty to give a faithful picture of the peace negotiations, [at Brest-Litovsk,] discuss the various phases of the results reached to date, and to draw from these conclusions which are true, logical, and justified.

It seems to me above all that those who seem to find the course of the negotiations too slow cannot have even a slight idea of the difficulties which are naturally met in them everywhere. In what follows I shall describe these difficulties, but would like to point out in advance the cardinal difference between the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk and all those which ever took place in history.

Never, so far as I know, have peace negotiations taken place in open view. It is quite impossible that negotiations which approach the present ones in extent and depth can take their course smoothly and without obstacles from the very beginning. Our task is to build a new world and rebuild all that which this most trying of wars has destroyed and trampled to the ground.

OPEN DIPLOMACY

The various phases of all the peace negotiations of which we know have developed more or less behind closed doors, and their results have been told to the world only after the negotiations have been completed.

All histories teach, and it is easily understood, that the troublesome road of such peace negotiations always leads up and down, that prospects are more favorable some days, less favorable on others. But when these various phases

and these details are telegraphed each day to the world it is quite easily understood that they act like electric shocks in the present condition of nervousness which rules in the world and that they excite public opinion.

We were completely aware of the disadvantage of this procedure. Still, we immediately gave way to the desire of the Russian Government for publicity because we wished to show ourselves friendly and because we have nothing to hide, and also because we might have made a false impression had we insisted on a method of provisional secrecy.

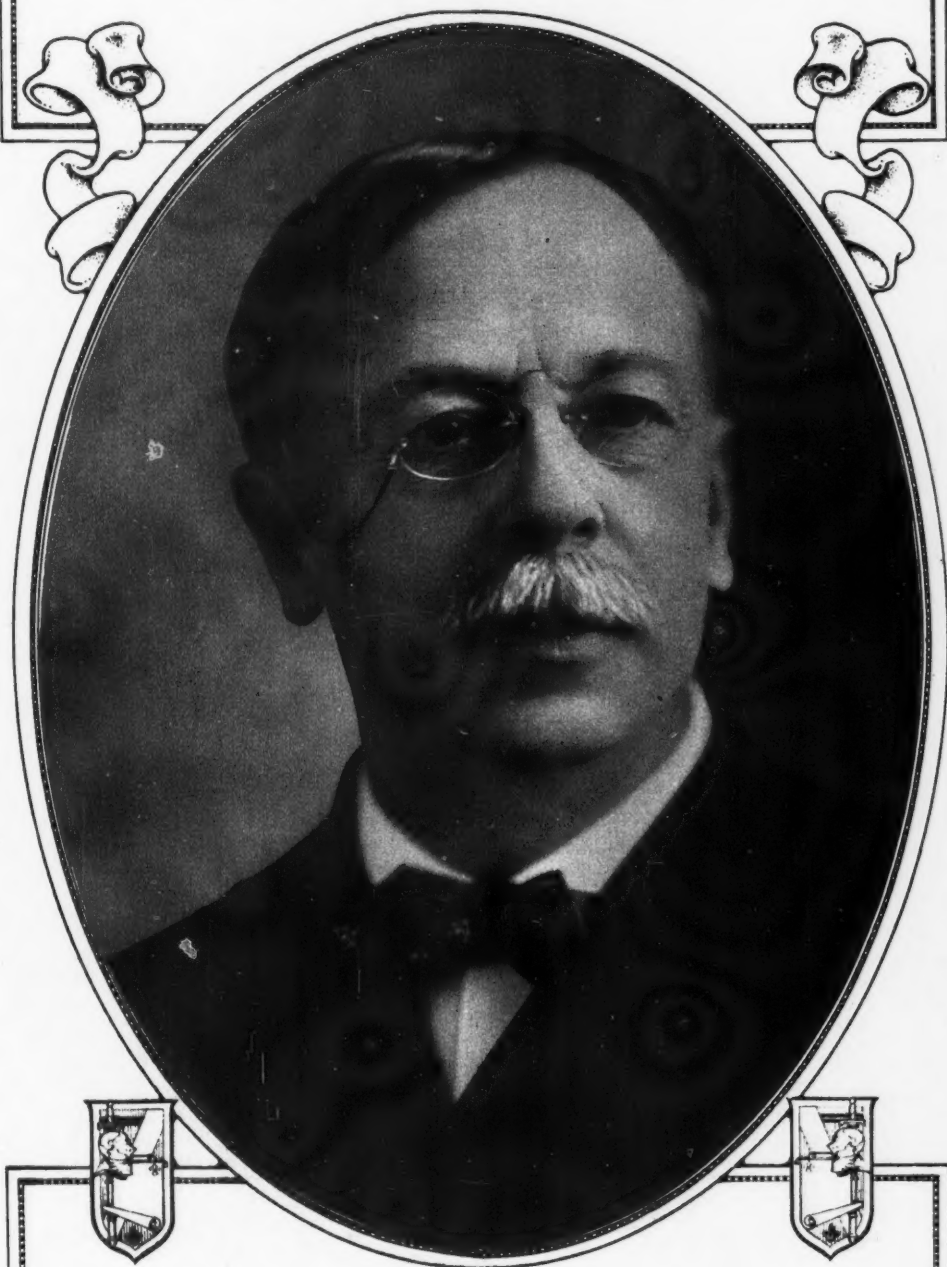
But the consequent other fact of this complete hostility of the negotiations is that the great public, that the country, and that, above all, the leaders, kept their nerves steady. The game must be finished in cold blood, and it will come to a good end if the peoples of the monarchy support the responsible representatives at the peace conference.

NO ANNEXATIONS

In advance let it be said that the basis on which Austria-Hungary treats with the various newly created Russian Governments is that of no indemnities or annexations. That is the program which I stated briefly to those who wanted to speak about peace after my nomination as Minister, which I have repeated to the Russian people in power on their first offer of peace, and from which I will not deviate.

Those who believe I can be crowded off the road which I purpose to go are bad psychologists. I have never let the public be in doubt as to the road which I

SENATOR GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN



Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee and leader of
the attack on Secretary Baker's war administration.

(© Harris & Ewing.)

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS



Formerly chief buyer for J. P. Morgan & Co. as agents for Allies, and
now Surveyor General of all purchases for the United States Army.

(© Harris & Ewing.)

go, and I have never allowed myself to be crowded from this road a hair's breadth, either to the right or to the left.

Since then I have become the undisputed darling of the Pan-Germans and those in the monarchy who imitate the Pan-Germans. At the same time I am calumniated as an inciter to war by those who want peace at any price, of which innumerable letters are proof. Neither has ever troubled me. On the contrary, these double insults are my only amusement in these hard times. I declare once more, I demand not a square foot nor a penny from Russia, and if Russia, as it seems to do, puts itself on that point of view also, peace will be made.

Those who want peace at any price might have doubted as to my non-annexionist purposes toward Russia if I did not tell them with the same inconsiderate openness that I shall never allow myself to make a peace which transcends the form I have just sketched. Should our Russian fellow-peacemakers demand the cession of territory from us, or indemnity, I should continue the war despite a desire for peace which I have as well as you, or would resign if I could not make my view prevail. * * *

THE NEW RUSSIA

The Governments in question are, first, that part of Russia which is led by Petrograd; secondly, our own new neighboring State, Great Ukraina; thirdly, Finland, and, fourthly, the Caucasus.

With the first two States we treat directly, with the two others now only more or less indirectly, because they have to date sent no negotiator to Brest-Litovsk. These four Russian fellow-peacemakers are met by us four powers, and the case of the Caucasus, in which we naturally have no difficulty to remove, but which is in conflict with Turkey, shows the extent of the subjects under discussion.

What interests us especially and chiefly is the newly created great State which will be our neighbor in the future, Ukraina. We have gotten very far in our negotiations with this delegation.

We have agreed on the above-mentioned basis of no annexations nor compensations and have agreed what and how commercial relations with the newly created republic are to be established.

But this very example of Ukraina shows one of the ruling difficulties. While the Ukrainian Republic holds the point of view that it has the right to treat with us quite autonomously and independently, the Russian delegation stands on the basis that the boundaries of its country and those of Ukraina have not been definitely fixed, and that St. Petersburg, consequently, has the right to participate in the negotiations with Ukraina, a view which the gentlemen of the Ukrainian delegation do not care to agree with. But this troubled situation of domestic conditions in Russia was the cause of enormous delay. * * *

ATTITUDE ON POLAND

We want nothing at all of Poland, the boundaries of which have not been definitely settled. Poland's people shall choose their own destiny, free and uninfluenced. I consider the form of popular decision of this question not especially important; the more surely it reflects the general will of the people the more I shall be pleased. For I desire only voluntary union on the part of Poland, and only in the desire of Poland in this matter do I see a guarantee of lasting harmony.

I hold irrevocably to the point of view that the Polish question must not delay the conclusion of peace by a single day. Should Poland seek close relationship with us after the conclusion of peace, we shall not refuse, but the Polish question shall and will not end after peace. I should have liked to see the Polish Government take part in the negotiations, for, according to my opinion, Poland is an independent State. The St. Petersburg Government, however, thinks that the present Polish Government is not entitled to speak in the name of the country and failed to recognize it as a competent exponent of the country. Therefore, we desisted from our intention in order not to create possible conflict. The question is certainly important, but more important for us is the

removal of all obstacles which delay the conclusion of peace.

The second difficulty which we encountered and which found the greatest echo in the press is the difference of opinion between our German ally and the St. Petersburg Government in the matter of interpretation of the right of the Russian nations to determine their own destinies—that is, those territories occupied by German troops.

Germany holds the point of view that it does not intend to make forcible territorial acquisition from Russia, but, to express it in two words, the difference of opinion is a double one.

First, Germany holds as justified the point of view that the numerous expressions of desire for independence by legislative bodies, communal bodies, &c., in the occupied provinces should be considered as a provisional basis for popular opinion which would be tested later by a plebiscite on a broad basis. The Russian Government is now opposed to this point of view, since it cannot recognize the right of existing organizations of Courland and Lithuania to speak in the name of these provinces any more than in the name of the Polish province.

The second difficulty is that Russia demands that the plebiscite should take place after all German troops and administrative organizations have vacated the occupied provinces, while Germany contends that by such evacuation, carried through to its extreme consequence, a vacuum would be created, which undoubtedly would bring about an outbreak of complete anarchy and the greatest misery.

Here it must be explained that everything which today permits political life in the occupied provinces is German property. The railways, posts, telegraph, all industries and administrative parts of police and justice are in German hands. The sudden withdrawal of these parts would indeed create a condition which does not seem practically tenable. In both questions we must find compromise. The difference between these two points of view is, in my opinion, not big enough to justify the failure of the negotiations. But such negotia-

tions cannot be completed over night. They take time.

GENERAL PEACE IN SIGHT

Once we have reached peace with Russia, a general peace cannot long be prevented, in my opinion, despite all the efforts of Entente statesmen. We have heard that it was not understood in places why I declared in the first speech after the resumption of the negotiations that it was now not a question of general peace, but of a separate peace with Russia in Brest-Litovsk. That was a necessary statement of clear fact which Trotzky has inevitably recognized and was necessary because we were treating on a different basis; that is, in a more limited scope, when the question was one of separate peace with Russia rather than a general peace. Although I have no illusions that the effort for a general peace might mature over night, I am still convinced it is maturing and is only a question of our holding through whether we are to have a general honorable peace or not.

REPLY TO PRESIDENT WILSON

I have been strengthened in this view by the peace offer which the President of the United States of America has made. To the whole world this is a peace offer, for in fourteen points Mr. Wilson develops the basis on which he attempts to bring about general peace.

It is evident that no such offer can be an elaboration acceptable in all details. Should this be the case, negotiations would be unnecessary, for then peace might be made by simple acceptance—by a simple yes and amen. That, of course, is not the case. But I do not hesitate to say that I find in the last proposals of President Wilson considerable approach to the Austro-Hungarian point of view, and among his proposals are some to which we can agree with pleasure.

If I shall now be allowed to discuss these proposals in greater detail I must say two things in advance: As far as those proposals relate to our allies—and in them there is mention of the German holding of Belgium and of the Turkish Empire—I declare that, faithful to the duties of the alliance which I have ac-

cepted, I am determined to go to every extreme in defense of our allies. The state of the property of our allies before the war we shall defend as our own. This is the point of view of the Allies in complete reciprocity.

Secondly, I should say that I must refuse politely but definitely any advice as to our internal government. We have a Parliament in Austria, elected by common, equal, direct, and secret suffrage. There is no more democratic Parliament on earth, and this Parliament, in conjunction with other constitutionally authorized factors, alone has the right to decide the internal affairs of Austria. I speak only of Austria because I am speaking in the Austrian delegation and not about the general affairs of the Hungarian State. I should not consider that constitutional. We do not interfere in American affairs, and we wish as little foreign guardianship by any other State. Having said this in advance, I allow myself to answer the remaining points as follows:

SECRET DIPLOMACY

I have nothing to say on the point which discusses abolishing secret diplomacy and complete publicity of negotiations. As for the question of publicity of negotiations, nothing can be said against this method from my point of view as far as it is based on complete reciprocity, although I have serious doubts whether it is always the most practical and quickest way to reach a result.

Diplomatic treaties are nothing but business affairs. I can easily think of cases, for instance, when commercial treaties are being made between States, and when it would be undesirable that the incomplete results should be told to the whole world beforehand.

In such negotiations both sides naturally begin by making as large as possible demands and by using one desire after another as compensation until that balance of interest is present which must be reached to make the conclusion of a treaty possible.

Should such negotiations be conducted before the eyes of the general public, it could not be avoided that the public

should passionately take sides for every single one of the demands, so that the renunciation of such a demand, even if made only for tactical reasons, would be considered a defeat.

Should the public take sides especially strongly for one disideratum, then the conclusion of a treaty might become impossible, or the treaty, should it be concluded, might be felt as a defeat perhaps on both sides. This would not further peaceful relations, and the points of friction between the States would be increased. But what is valid for commercial treaties would be just as valid for political ones which treat of political business.

If abolishing secret diplomacy means that there are to be no secret treaties—that treaties shall not be made without the knowledge of the public—I have nothing to say against the realization of this. How the realization of this principle and its safeguard is to be considered I know not. When the Governments of two States agree, they will always be able to make secret treaties without any one discovering it. But these are minor points. I do not stick to formulas and will never be responsible for the failure of reasonable arrangement because of more or less formalities. We can, therefore, dismiss Point 1.

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

Point 2 relates to the freedom of the seas. In this postulate President Wilson has spoken from the heart of all, and I subscribe to this desire of America's completely, especially because the President adds the clause: "Outside territorial waters," that is, freedom of open sea. But I cannot subscribe to the violation of the sovereign rights of our faithful Turkish ally. Its point of view on this question will be ours.

Point 3, definitely against future economic war, is so just and so reasonable and has been so often demanded by us that I have nothing to add to it.

Point 4, demanding general disarmament, explains in especially good and clear style the necessity of forcing free competition in armaments after war to a point which the domestic safety of States demands. President Wilson explains

this clearly. I permitted myself to develop the same a few months ago in a Budapest speech. It is part of my political creed.

As far as Russia is concerned, we are proving with deeds that we are ready to create a friendly, neighborly relationship.

As far as Italy, Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro are concerned, I can only repeat the point of view which I have expressed already in the Hungarian delegation.

I refuse to figure as surety for enemy war adventures. I refuse to make one-sided concessions to our enemies who remain stubbornly on the point of view of war to final victory concessions which would forever injure the monarchy and give immeasurable advantage to our enemies and drag on the war indefinitely.

I trust Mr. Wilson will use the great influence he doubtless has on all his allies that they explain conditions on which they are willing to negotiate, and he will have gained the immeasurable merit of having called a general peace conference to life.

Just as openly and freely as I am here replying to President Wilson, I will also speak to all those who desire to speak themselves, but it is quite comprehensible that the time and continuation of the war cannot remain without influence on our relations in this connection.

ITALY'S ENTRANCE

I said this once before, and may refer to Italy as an example. Italy had the opportunity before the war to attain great territorial acquisitions without a shot. She refused, entered the war, lost hundreds of thousands of dead, billions in war costs and destroyed property, brought upon her population misery and need, and all this only for advantages which she could have had once, but which are now lost forever.

Regarding Point 13, it is an open secret that we are supporters of the idea that there must be "an independent Polish State," which shall "include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations." Regarding this, I

am also of the opinion that we could soon reach an agreement with Mr. Wilson.

Nor will the President find anywhere in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy any opposition to his proposal regarding the idea of the league of nations.

As may be seen, then, from this comparison of my views with those of Mr. Wilson, we agree not only on great principles in general, according to which the world is to be newly regulated after the end of this war, but our views also approach each other on several concrete peace questions. The remaining differences do not seem to me great enough to lead to the belief that a discussion at this point should not bring clearness and rapprochement.

This situation, which probably arises from the fact that Austria-Hungary and the United States of America are the two great powers among the two groups of enemy States whose interests least conflict, suggests the thought that an exchange of ideas between these two powers might be the starting point for conciliatory discussions between all States which have not entered into peace conversations. So much for President Wilson's propositions.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIA

I now hasten to finish, and the conclusion is perhaps the most important thing I have to say. I am working on a peace with Ukrainia and with St. Petersburg. But peace with St. Petersburg does not change our definite situation. Nowhere do Austrian troops oppose those of the St. Petersburg Government. Ukrainian troops do oppose us.

Nothing could be exported from St. Petersburg because it has nothing but revolution and anarchy to export, articles which Bolsheviki would like to export, but acceptance of which I politely refuse. Still, I desire peace with St. Petersburg also, because it makes general peace nearer, as does the conclusion of any peace.

Affairs with Ukrainia are definite, for Ukrainia has stocks, foodstuffs, which it will export if we agree. The food question is today a world worry. Everywhere, with opponents, as with neutral States, it plays an important rôle.

The way to help out the population is by concluding peace with those Russian Governments which have for export a quantity of foodstuffs. We can and will hold out even without this aid, but I know my duty commands me to attempt everything to lessen the suffering of our population.

Therefore, I will not reject this advantage for our population from hysterical nervousness in order to bring about peace a few days or weeks earlier. Such a peace needs time. It cannot be concluded over night, for in the conclusion of peace it must be discovered whether, and what, and how the Russian fellow-peacemakers will supply us. This is because *Ukrainia* wishes to settle this business during the peace negotiations and not afterward.

ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES

I have said already that the troubled relations of these newly created Governments involve great hindrance and natural delay in the negotiations. If you attack me in the back, force me to finish hastily, then we will have no economic advantages and our people must go without the advantage which it might derive from peace.

If a doctor has to make a difficult operation and people stand behind him with a watch and force him to finish the operation in a few minutes, the operation will probably be done in record time, but the sick person will not be grateful for the technique of the operation. If you make a wholly wrong impression on your opponents that we must make peace at any price and immediately, we will not get a bushel of grain and our success will be more or less platonic.

Chiefly, it is not at all a question of ending the war after we have agreed on a basis of no annexations. The question is not one—I repeat it for the tenth time—of imperialistic or annexationist plans and intentions, but is to assure our population a deserved reward for steadily holding out and give it those foodstuffs which it will gladly accept.

But our partners are good arithmeticians, observing exactly whether or not I am being forced into a bad position by you. If you want to spoil peace and refuse grain shipment, then it is logical to force my hand by speeches, resolutions, strikes, and demonstrations.

It is a thousand times untrue that we are in a position where we would rather make a bad peace without economic advantages today than one with economic advantages. Food difficulties in the last analysis do not come from the lack of food. The crises which must be allayed are coal transportation and organization. If behind the front you arrange strikes you move in a vicious circle. Strikes increase and make the existing crisis more acute and the transportation of foodstuffs and coal more difficult. You are cutting your own flesh, and all those who think that such methods hasten peace are in an awful error.

People are said to spread rumors in the monarchy that the Government is not unconcerned in the matter of strikes. I leave these people the choice of whether they desire consideration as criminal slanderers or fools. If you had a Government which wanted another peace than the overwhelming majority of the population; if you had a Government which was continuing the war because of annexationist intentions, then the battle of the country behind the front against the Government might be comprehensible.

Since the Government wants exactly what the majority of the monarchy wants—an honorable peace as soon as possible without annexations—it is madness to attack it in the back, slander it, and disturb it. Those who do that do not fight against the Government, but blindly against the peoples whom they pretend to wish to help and against themselves. * * * If you have confidence in me to conduct peace negotiations, then you ought to assist me. If you have not that confidence, then you ought to dismiss me. There is no third way.

President Wilson's Reply to Hertling and Czernin

[Address delivered before Congress Feb. 11, 1918]

ON the 8th of January I had the honor of addressing you on the objects of the war as our people conceive them. The Prime Minister of Great Britain had spoken in similar terms on the 5th of January. To these addresses the German Chancellor replied on the 24th, and Count Czernin for Austria on the same day. It is gratifying to have our desire so promptly realized that all exchanges of views on this great matter should be made in the hearing of all the world.

Count Czernin's reply, which is directed chiefly to my own address on the 8th of January, is uttered in a very friendly tone. He finds in my statement a sufficiently encouraging approach to the views of his own Government to justify him in believing that it furnishes a basis for a more detailed discussion of purposes by the two Governments.

He is represented to have intimated that the views he was expressing had been communicated to me beforehand and that I was aware of them at the time he was uttering them; but in this I am sure he was misunderstood. I had received no intimation of what he intended to say. There was, of course, no reason why he should communicate privately with me. I am quite content to be one of his public audience.

GERMAN REPLY ANALYZED

Count von Hertling's reply is, I must say, very vague and very confusing. It is full of equivocal phrases and leads it is not clear where. But it is certainly in a very different tone from that of Count Czernin, and apparently of an opposite purpose. It confirms, I am sorry to say, rather than removes the unfortunate impression made by what we had learned of the conferences at Brest-Litovsk.

His discussion and acceptance of our general principles lead him to no practical conclusions. He refuses to apply them to the substantive items which must

constitute the body of any final settlement. He is jealous of international action and of international council. He accepts, he says, the principle of public diplomacy, but he appears to insist that it be confined, at any rate in this case, to generalities, and that the several particular questions of territory and sovereignty, the several questions upon whose settlement must depend the acceptance of peace by the twenty-three States now engaged in the war, must be discussed and settled, not in general council, but severally by the nations most immediately concerned by interest or neighborhood.

He agrees that the seas should be free, but looks askance at any limitation to that freedom by international action in the interest of the common order. He would without reserve be glad to see economic barriers removed between nation and nation, for that could in no way impede the ambitions of the military party, with whom he seems constrained to keep on terms. Neither does he raise objection to a limitation of armaments. That matter will be settled of itself, he thinks, by the economic conditions which must follow the war. But the German colonies, he demands, must be returned without debate. He will discuss with no one but the representatives of Russia what disposition shall be made of the peoples and the lands of the Baltic provinces; with no one but the Government of France the "conditions" under which French territory shall be evacuated; and only with Austria what shall be done with Poland.

In the determination of all questions affecting the Balkan States he defers, as I understand him, to Austria and Turkey; and with regard to the agreements to be entered into concerning the non-Turkish peoples of the present Ottoman Empire, to the Turkish authorities themselves. After a settlement all around, effected

in this fashion, by individual barter and concession, he would have no objection, if I correctly interpret his statement, to a league of nations which would undertake to hold the new balance of power steady against external disturbance.

It must be evident to every one who understands what this war has wrought in the opinion and temper of the world that no general peace, no peace worth the infinite sacrifices of these years of tragical suffering, can possibly be arrived at in any such fashion. The method the German Chancellor proposes is the method of the Congress of Vienna. We can not and will not return to that.

PEACE OF THE WORLD

What is at stake now is the peace of the world. What we are striving for is a new international order based upon broad and universal principles of right and justice—no mere peace of shreds and patches. Is it possible that Count von Hertling does not see that, does not grasp it, is, in fact, living in his thought in a world dead and gone? Has he utterly forgotten the Reichstag resolutions of the 19th of July, or does he deliberately ignore them? They spoke of the conditions of a general peace, not of national aggrandizement or of arrangements between State and State.

The peace of the world depends upon the just settlement of each of the several problems to which I adverted in my recent address to the Congress. I, of course, do not mean that the peace of the world depends upon the acceptance of any particular set of suggestions as to the way in which those problems are to be dealt with. I mean only that those problems each and all affect the whole world; that unless they are dealt with in a spirit of unselfish and unbiased justice, with a view to the wishes, the natural connections, the racial aspirations, the security and peace of mind of the peoples involved, no permanent peace will have been attained.

They cannot be discussed separately or in corners. None of them constitutes a private or separate interest from which the opinion of the world may be shut out. Whatever affects the peace affects mankind, and nothing settled by military

force, if settled wrong, is settled at all. It will presently have to be reopened.

NATIONS ARE JUDGING

Is Count von Hertling not aware that he is speaking in the court of mankind, that all the awakened nations of the world now sit in judgment on what every public man, of whatever nation, may say on the issues of a conflict which has spread to every region of the world? The Reichstag resolutions of July themselves frankly accepted the decisions of that court. There shall be no annexations, no contributions, no punitive damages. Peoples are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference or an understanding between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. "Self-determination" is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril.

We cannot have general peace for the asking or by the mere arrangements of a peace conference. It cannot be pieced together out of individual understandings between powerful States. All the parties to this war must join in the settlement of every issue anywhere involved in it, because what we are seeking is a peace that we can all unite to guarantee and maintain, and every item of it must be submitted to the common judgment whether it be right and fair, an act of justice, rather than a bargain between sovereigns.

AMERICA'S ATTITUDE

The United States has no desire to interfere in European affairs or to act as arbiter in European territorial disputes. She would disdain to take advantage of any internal weakness or disorder to impose her own will upon another people. She is quite ready to be shown that the settlements she has suggested are not the best or the most enduring. They are only her own provisional sketch of principles, and of the way in which they should be applied.

But she entered this war because she was made a partner, whether she would

or not, in the sufferings and indignities inflicted by the military masters of Germany against the peace and security of mankind; and the conditions of peace will touch her as nearly as they will touch any other nation to which is intrusted a leading part in the maintenance of civilization. She cannot see her way to peace until the causes of this war are removed, its renewal rendered, as nearly as may be, impossible.

This war had its roots in the disregard of the rights of small nations and of nationalities which lacked the union and the force to make good their claim to determine their own allegiances and their own forms of political life. Covenants must now be entered into which will render such things impossible for the future; and those covenants must be backed by the united force of all the nations that love justice and are willing to maintain it at any cost.

COMMERCIAL SETTLEMENTS

If territorial settlements and the political relations of great populations which have not the organized power to resist are to be determined by the contracts of the powerful Governments which consider themselves most directly affected, as Count von Hertling proposes, why may not economic questions also? It has come about in the altered world in which we now find ourselves that justice and the rights of peoples affect the whole field of international dealing as much as access to raw materials and fair and equal conditions of trade.

Count von Hertling wants the essential bases of commercial and industrial life to be safeguarded by common agreement and guarantee, but he cannot expect that to be conceded him if the other matters to be determined by the articles of peace are not handled in the same way as items in the final accounting. He cannot ask the benefit of common agreement in the one field without according it in the other. I take it for granted that he sees that separate and selfish compacts with regard to trade and the essential materials of manufacture would afford no foundation for peace. Neither, he may rest assured, will separate and selfish

compacts with regard to provinces and peoples.

Count Czernin seems to see the fundamental elements of peace with clear eyes, and does not seek to obscure them. He sees that an independent Poland, made up of all the indisputably Polish peoples who lie contiguous to one another, is a matter of European concern, and must, of course, be conceded; that Belgium must be evacuated and restored, no matter what sacrifices and concessions that may involve; and that national aspirations must be satisfied, even within his own empire, in the common interest of Europe and mankind.

If he is silent about questions which touch the interest and purpose of his allies more nearly than they touch those of Austria only, it must, of course, be because he feels constrained, I suppose, to defer to Germany and Turkey in the circumstances. Seeing and conceding, as he does, the essential principles involved and the necessity of candidly applying them, he naturally feels that Austria can respond to the purpose of peace as expressed by the United States with less embarrassment than could Germany. He would probably have gone much further had it not been for the embarrassments of Austria's alliances and of her dependence upon Germany.

FUNDAMENTALS OF PEACE

After all, the test of whether it is possible for either Government to go any further in this comparison of views is simple and obvious. The principles to be applied are these:

First—That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

Second—That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that,

Third—Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States; and,

Fourth—That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost

satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequently of the world.

A general peace erected upon such foundations can be discussed. Until such a peace can be secured we have no choice but to go on. So far as we can judge, these principles that we regard as fundamental are already everywhere accepted as imperative except among the spokesmen of the military and annexationist party in Germany. If they have anywhere else been rejected, the objectors have not been sufficiently numerous or influential to make their voices audible. The tragical circumstance is that this one party in Germany is apparently willing and able to send millions of men to their death to prevent what all the world now sees to be just.

CAN NEVER TURN BACK

I would not be a true spokesman of the people of the United States if I did not say once more that we entered this war upon no small occasion and that we can never turn back from a course chosen upon principle. Our resources are in part mobilized now, and we shall not pause until they are mobilized in their entirety. Our armies are rapidly going to the fighting front, and will go more and more rapidly. Our whole strength

will be put into this war of emancipation—emancipation from the threat and attempted mastery of selfish groups of autocratic rulers—whatever the difficulties and present partial delays.

We are indomitable in our power of independent action, and can in no circumstances consent to live in a world governed by intrigue and force. We believe that our own desire for a new international order, under which reason and justice and the common interests of mankind shall prevail, is the desire of enlightened men everywhere. Without that new order the world will be without peace and human life will lack tolerable conditions of existence and development. Having set our hand to the task of achieving it, we shall not turn back.

I hope it is not necessary for me to add that no word of what I have said is intended as a threat. That is not the temper of our people. I have spoken thus only that the whole world may know the true spirit of America—that men everywhere may know that our passion for justice and for self-government is no mere passion of words, but a passion which, once set in motion, must be satisfied. The power of the United States is a menace to no nation or people. It will never be used in aggression or for the aggrandizement of any selfish interest of our own. It springs out of freedom and is for the service of freedom.

Premier Lloyd George on the Central Powers' Views

[Delivered in Parliament Feb. 12, 1918]

After stating that he would reply to the questions of the opposition as represented by Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George said:

THE Government stand by the considered declaration of war aims which I made on behalf of my colleagues to the trade union representatives early this year. I read with profound disappointment the replies given to President Wilson's speech and to one which I de-

livered on behalf of the Government by the German Chancellor and Count Czernin. It is perfectly true that, as far as the tone is concerned, there was a deal of difference between the Austrian and German speeches; but I wish I could believe there was a difference in the substance.

I cannot altogether accept that interpretation of Count Czernin's speech. It was extraordinarily civil and friendly in

tone, but when you come to the real substance of the demands put forward by the Allies it was adamant.

Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Arabia were put in exactly the same category as Belgium. They were apparently to be restored to the Turks on the same terms as Germany was to restore Belgium. When you come to the demands of Italy, Count Czernin said that certain offers had been made before the war to Italy, and they were now withdrawn as far as the Slavonic population of Austria was concerned.

It was a purely polite statement to President Wilson and to others that it was none of their business to inquire. There was not a single definite question dealt with about which Count Czernin did not present a most resolute refusal to discuss any terms which might be regarded as possible terms of peace.

HERTLING HARDLY SERIOUS

When you come to the German reply, it is very difficult for any one to believe that Count von Hertling could be even serious about some of the demands which were put forward.

What was his answer to the very moderate terms put forward by the Allies? His answer was that Great Britain was to give up her coaling stations throughout the world, and he named half a dozen. That demand was put forward for the first time, and I confess that I think that it was the last demand that Germany ought decently to have put forward. These coaling stations have been as accessible to the Germans as to British ships in the past.

The German fleet has always received most hospitable treatment at all these coaling stations, and in 1913 something like fifty to sixty German men-of-war and transports visited these stations, where they received exactly the same treatment as British men-of-war. The same thing applies to German merchant ships.

This demand is the best possible proof that the German Empire, or those who at present are in control of it, are not in the mood to discuss reasonable terms of peace with the Allies. I regret it

profoundly, but it is no use crying peace when there is no peace. These terms were examined carefully, with a real desire to find something in them which indicated that the Central Powers were coming somewhere near a basis of agreement. I confess that that examination of these two speeches proved profoundly disappointing to those who are sincerely anxious to find a real and genuine desire for peace in them.

GERMAN INSINCERITY SHOWN

The action of Germany in reference to Russia proves that all her declarations about no annexations and no indemnities have no real meaning. No answer has been given in regard to Belgium which any one can regard as satisfactory. There is no reference to Poland or the legitimate claims of France for the restoration of her lost provinces, and no word is said about the men of the Italian race and tongue who are now under Austrian rule.

As to Turkey, there was nothing said by either Count von Hertling or Count Czernin indicating that they are prepared to recognize the rights of the Allies in regard either to Mesopotamia or Turkey. There was nothing but pure denial of those rights.

Until there is some better proof than is contained in these speeches that the Central Powers are prepared to consider the war aims of the Allies it will be our regrettable duty to make all preparations necessary in order to establish international right in the world.

My right honorable friend [Asquith] asked me questions in regard to the Versailles conference. He seemed to think it possible to answer them without giving away any information as to the conduct of our actual military operations. It is no use giving partial information, and I think that if he will reflect as to the character of the decisions there arrived at, he will find it is impossible to make a statement to the House as to those decisions without giving information as to the plans of the Allies.

Just let the House consider what the position is. It is perfectly true that when in November I came here after the Rapallo conference to announce that an International Council had been set up for

the purpose of conducting the strategy of the Allies, I then stated that it was not the intention of the Allies that it should have any executive functions.

What has happened since then? Since then Russia has gone out of the war. Since then a very considerable number of German divisions have actually left the eastern front and been brought to the west. The situation has become very much more menacing than it was at that time, and the Allies met at Versailles to consider the best method of meeting that menace during 1918.

Up to the present the Allies have had an overwhelming majority of troops upon the western front. That is giving no military information away. Gradually, even rapidly, that superiority has diminished, especially during the last few weeks. In spite of the undertaking given by the Germans to the Russians that during the period of the armistice no troops would be moved from the east to the west, they are moving them as speedily as railway and transport arrangements will allow. That has to be kept in mind when we discuss terms of peace, because it has a real bearing upon guarantees.

NEW WAR SITUATION

That was the situation with which we were confronted at Versailles. Up to this year there was no attack which the Germans could bring to bear upon either our army or upon the French Army which could not in the main have been dealt with by the reserves of each individual army.

The situation has been completely changed by the enormous reinforcements brought from the east to the west, and the allied representatives at Versailles had to consider the best methods of dealing with a situation which was a completely different one from what it was before.

It is absolutely essential that the whole strength of the armies of France, Britain, Italy, and America should be made available for the point at which the attack comes. Where would the blow come? Will it come here, or there, or there? Who can tell? All we know is that it is preparing. They have a gigantic railway system behind, which can

swing it here and there, and it is essential that arrangements should have been made by which the Allies should treat their armies as one to meet the danger and menace, wherever it comes.

That was the problem with which we were confronted at Versailles, and if we had not dealt with it we should have been guilty of gross dereliction of duty. What happened there? In old conferences to which I have been accustomed the military members met there together, and the civilian members met there, and then the military members came there with a written document stating what they had decided. I don't mind saying that as conferences to discuss strategy they were pure farce.

UNANIMITY IN COUNCIL

Here we had for days civilian members and military members sitting together—four or five days. Commanders in Chief were there; Chiefs of Staff were there; military representatives were there; the Prime Ministers of three countries were there, and other Ministers as well.

Discussions took place freely during the whole of those days, and the military members took part as freely as the civilian members, and there was an interchange of views; and let me say this: that the result of it was that complete unanimity was established. There was no division of opinion upon any resolution which was to come.

With regard to this critical action which is involved in the extension of the Versailles power I must speak with caution, because I am talking of military decisions in a War Council. Ah! I wish there had been some one in Germany and in Austria whose ears were glued to the keyhole of the War Council of Austria and Germany, and who published their decisions in the newspapers! The man who had done that, who would tell us what arrangements the Austrians and Germans have come to together, co-ordinated in order most effectively to attack our force—he would be worth twenty army corps to the Allies.

When talking about the War Council and its decision I have got to talk with caution, because if information is to be

given away to the enemy I had rather the responsibility were on other shoulders than mine.

I know what it means. There are millions of gallant lives depending upon it. The honor and safety of our native land depends upon it. Those great war aims upon which the future of the world depends depend upon it, and to give away information that will imperil that is treason. I decline to do it.

SECURITY OF ARMIES

It is enough for me to say that decisions that were come to there were come to unanimously. We have got to consider the best methods of carrying them out; and may I say the word further? There is no army whose security more depends upon those conditions being carried out than the British Army.

I felt flattered in France, and I felt flattered at the council, when I realized that this new army which has sprung into being in the course of the last two or three years has been intrusted by France, with its great army, with the defense of its capital, with the defense of the most vital parts of France—all voluntarily handed over by France to the defense of the British Army—and the demand of France was not that we should take less, but take more—or the responsibility. That in itself is a vote of confidence on the part of France in the gallantry and prowess of our army.

And let me say here a word as to leadership. My right honorable friend talks about the leadership of the army. No man has talked of it in more glowing terms than I did at this very table. I do not withdraw a syllable of what I said then, but I do beg the House and my right honorable friend, who has had the responsibility of two or three years of conduct of the war—I beg him not to press the Government to give information which any intelligence officer on the other side would gladly pay large sums of money to get as to the arrangements which this country and the Allies have made for countering that great blow.

[At this point the Premier was interrupted by former Premier Asquith, who

resented the imputation in the preceding remark. Premier Lloyd George replied that he intended no reflection. Continuing, he said:]

We took the opinion not merely of the Council at Versailles, but each of the separate representatives referred it to their Governments at home, and it was only after we had the reply of each separate Government that in their judgment it would be undesirable to publish these facts that we issued the prohibition to the press. Again I say, does my right honorable friend wish to take the responsibility of forcing the Government to publish information which the whole of the allied representatives at Versailles deemed undesirable for publication, which each separate Government considered afterward on a report of their representatives and came to the same decision upon it? I cannot believe it.

[A member: "You have said too much already."]

I quite agree. What can be gained? Is it suggested that when the whole of the allied powers were in agreement as to the desirability of doing this, Great Britain should stand out? This was something that was agreed upon after the most mature discussion. When you are conducting a war there are questions which the Government must decide. The House of Commons, if it is not satisfied, in my judgment has but one way of dealing with the situation. It can change the Government.

HAIG AND ROBERTSON ASSENTED

This is a military decision, and a military decision of the first magnitude, a military decision at which some of the greatest soldiers of the Allies were present.

Mr. Lambert—Did Sir Douglas Haig and Sir William Robertson approve of this decision?

Lloyd George—Certainly. They were present. I could carry it further with regard to that. It is very difficult. The House must realize that I am anxious not to give information which would be of the slightest help to the enemy. It cannot possibly be of any help to the allied partnership. There is only one way when you go to councils of war. You must

leave it to those who are there to decide. If you have no confidence in them, whether military or civil, there is only one way—to change them.

[Mr. Lloyd George denounced as an "absolute and unmitigated falsehood" the implication that the Government was in any way privy to any newspaper agitation directed against Generals Haig and Robertson, and dispelled the idea that the Government was out of sympathy with them or with their viewpoint. The Gov-

ernment was sustained by a vote of 159 to 28. A change, however, occurred in the High Command. It was announced Feb. 17 that Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial Staff, had resigned, and had also declined to accept appointment as military representative on the Supreme War Council. General Sir Henry Wilson, Sub-Chief, succeeded as Chief of Staff; he was former Director of Military Operations at headquarters; an Irishman, aged 54.]

Speeches by King George and Kaiser Wilhelm

King George, in his speech from the throne on Feb. 12, said:

The aims for which I and my allies are contending were recently set forth by my Government in a statement which received the emphatic approval of my peoples throughout the empire and provided a fair basis for settlement of the present struggle and re-establishment of national rights and international peace in the future.

The German Government has, however, ignored our just demands that it should make restitution for the wrongs it has committed and furnish guarantees against their unprovoked repetition. Its spokesmen refuse any obligations for themselves, while denying rightful liberties of others. Until a recognition is offered of the only principles on which an honorable peace can be concluded it is our duty to prosecute the war with all the vigor we possess.

Kaiser Wilhelm, in replying, on Feb. 11, to an address presented by the Burgomaster of Hamburg on the conclusion of peace with the Ukraine, said:

We have gone through hard times. Every one has had a burden to bear—anxiety, mourning, grief, tribulation—and not the least he who stands before you. In him were combined the care and grief for the entire people in its sorrows.

We often entered false paths. The Lord pointed out to us by a hard school

the path by which we should go. The world, however, at the same time has not been on the right path. We Germans, who still have ideals, should work to bring about better times. We should fight for right and morality. Our Lord God wishes us to have peace, but a peace wherein the world will strive to do what is right and good.

We ought to bring peace to the world. We shall seek in every way to do it. Such an end was achieved yesterday in a friendly manner with an enemy which, beaten by our armies, perceives no reason for fighting longer, extends a hand to us, and receives our hand. We clasp hands. But he who will not accept peace, but on the contrary declines, pouring out the blood of his own and of our people, must be forced to have peace. We desire to live in friendship with neighboring peoples, but the victory of German arms must first be recognized. Our troops under the great Hindenburg will continue to win it. Then peace will come.

On Feb. 12, in a telegram to the manager of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, the Kaiser said:

Many thanks for your congratulations over our first peace. It is only a small beginning made by Germany's sword against the closed door leading to a general peace. I am filled with gratitude. May God help further.

Military Events of the Month

From January 17 to February 16, 1918

By Walter Littlefield

A GAIN it has been a month in which the interest in tactics has surpassed that in strategy. The movements on the western front, whether conducted by patrols or aircraft, have been almost entirely those of reconnoissance. There was a natural curiosity to divine the position of the American troops and their movements, and a keen military interest in the closing of the last two gates which lead to the Venetian plains.

But all these things have been subordinated, in the official as well as the public mind, to the movement of Teutonic troops westward. In some respects this matter remains problematical at the present writing; nor have the political manoeuvres of the Ukraine, the Bolsheviks, or the conflicting stories which have emanated from Rumania and Besarabia furnished any true key to the situation. It is known, however, that in the last month Germany has sent west a maximum of 40,000 men, between the ages of 25 and 35, as the skeletons of twenty or more divisions; and that a few battalions of Austro-Hungarian troops were probably removed from Bukowina and Rumania for refitting. All else apparently remains as indicated in this review a month ago.

On the French front or near it there are not more than 1,000,000 Germans, from the North Sea to St. Quentin, a sector of 135 miles; not more than 600,000 on the Vauquois-St. Mihiel (the Verdun) sector of 55 miles, while elsewhere on the static sectors, measuring 270 miles, there are possibly 1,350,000. The 75,000 carefully selected German troops moved between Oct. 1 and Jan. 18 from the Russian front westward to their refitting depots on the watershed of the Moselle and Rhine, or behind the latter, as the skeletons of fifty divisions, have not yet reached

their maximum strength of 700,000. On the Russian front there remain 1,085,000 (1,200,000 minus 75,000 plus 40,000) in skeleton division formations. The total in the west, therefore, remains probably below the maximum of 3,650,000. And the German mobile division still remains under the maximum of 20,000 men. A month ago it was calculated at 13,000. Since then some official observers have placed the figure at 12,000; others as low as 10,000.

On the Italian front of 200 miles there were, a month ago, according to Italian official observers, sixty divisions, of which forty-nine were Austro-Hungarian. In all they believed the enemy's strength here to reach 1,200,000 men.

G. H. Perris, who is with the French armies in the field, stated on Feb. 2 that "the number of German divisions on the western front is now between 180 and 190, and of these 115 are in the line and 65 to 75 in reserve." These divisions were calculated to contain "rather more than 10,000 combatants" each.

Major Gen. Frederick B. Maurice, Chief Director of the British War Office, said on Feb. 6:

The chief event of military importance in the past month has been the continued movement of German troops to the west front. We long ago calculated the rate at which this movement could be carried on, and it is not going on any faster than expected. The Germans are now stronger on the west front than at any time during the war, but they are not yet numerically equal to the Franco-British forces.

An authorized military statement appearing in the *Echo of Paris* on Feb. 8 contained the information that the Germans had at the outside in the west 174 divisions, estimated at 12,000 men each, (2,088,000 men,) which was only 21 more (about 252,000 men) than at the time of the allied offensive last Spring, when the enemy was proved to be on the defensive at every point.

A French official statement issued from the Grand Headquarters five days later contained this passage:

One hundred and twelve divisions (1,344,000 troops at 12,000 men to a division) occupy the German front line facing the French, British, American, and Belgian troops, while their immediate reserves total sixty-three divisions, (756,000 men, or 2,100,000 in all.) * * * At any rate, it is agreed by the authorities here that the greatest possible number the Germans could add to their forces on the western front does not exceed twenty divisions, which would bring the total to 195 divisions, (2,340,000 men.)

UNENDING TRENCH RAIDS

Most of the movements on the western front during the last thirty days come within the category known as reconnaissance—even those on the American sector and in the air over the German depots in the neighborhood of the Rhine. Exceptions to the general character of the actions have been heavy German bombardments followed by raids, which were for a short time successful on the French positions east of Nieuport, and turned to nought in Champagne and at Verdun, and the taking over by the British of the French sector enveloping the southwestern suburbs of St. Quentin, on Jan. 26. Yet, day after day the French have reported with frequency, suggestive, when paralleled with the vivid accounts from the fronts of Crown Prince Rupprecht, the Imperial Crown Prince, and the Grand Duke Albrecht: "*A notre aile gauche, rien de nouveau.*" Yet all the time the unending struggle has gone on, positions being taken, lost, and retaken, while the eyes of the air have sought to penetrate the secrets of the earth.

On Jan. 17, what promised to be an important series of German raids west of the Oise were repulsed by the French. A week later the Germans, preceded by bombardment, made a spirited attack on the sector of Hill 344, and the front of Chaume Wood, (Verdun front,) only to meet with the same result. On the 25th it was the British who received the attention of the enemy by cannon and infantry attack between the Lys and Poelcappelle, near the coal pits of Lens, and on both sides of the Scarpe. On the 27th

the British repulsed an incipient assault on their line south of Lens. And so the first month of the year ended.

RAIDING PARTIES REPULSED

On Feb. 3 a French detachment captured a German post of thirty men on the Aisne front, while the British east of Polygon Wood, on the Ypres sector, drove back a hostile raiding party. From the 5th to the 6th the Germans, taking advantage of the fine weather, carried on a brisk bombardment from Passchendaele, on the Ypres sector, south into the Cambrai area. Simultaneously they were active east of the Meuse, in the region of Fosses Wood.

For the last fortnight the French and British seem to have had the upper hand as raiders. On the 9th the former in a raid on a post near Dioncourt bagged another garrison of thirty. On the 12th 250 fell into their hands west of Remenauville in the Woevre, and the next day they captured 100 southwest of Butte Mesnil in Champagne. On the 11th the British captured 28 southeast of Messines.

Altogether between Feb. 2 and the 9th the Imperial Crown Prince suffered seven defeats with relative heavy losses on the Verdun sector—still his cherished abattoir. Large bodies of troops were employed in every instance, yet not a single permanent advantage was gained.

The costliness of these combats of attrition cannot be judged by the bulletins announcing them, for in the week ended Jan. 21 the British casualties amounted to 17,043; Jan. 28, 8,588; Feb. 4, 6,354; Feb. 11, 7,077. In the last there were 1,433 deaths; the rest were either wounded or taken prisoners.

THE AMERICAN SECTOR

Early in October the American troops, who had been gradually concentrating in camps south of Toul and Nancy since July, began to supplement the French 47th Division on a sector lying across the Marne-Rhine Canal. This was the "quiet sector on the French front," where it was officially announced by Washington on Oct. 27 that our troops had begun the trench stage of their intensive training, and here, according to a Berlin dispatch less than a week later,

some "North American troops" were captured in a raid. Although raids and counter-raids, and artillery duels succeeded across No Man's Land on this sector, with casualties on both sides, it does not appear that the front was ever taken over in force by our troops, but was rather employed as a school under French tuition.

Early in January, however, it was learned that American regiments with artillery were actually taking the place of French troops on the southern slopes of the plain of the Woivre. This fact was simultaneously confirmed from Washington and Berlin on Jan. 31, when accounts were given out describing a German raid against the first-line trenches here on the preceding day, in which the Americans had suffered seven casualties—two killed, four wounded, and one missing—and the Germans had covered theirs by taking them away.

The bulletins of the French War Office gave the limits of this position—the French were holding Fliry and Remenauville on the east and Apremont on the west, and between were the Americans, who, according to deductions made from the localities where subsequent fighting has taken place, cover an eight-mile front.

This eight-mile sector occupies the middle of the line St. Mihiel-Pont-à-Mousson, which is the southern leg of the St. Mihiel salient established by the army from Metz in the last fortnight of September, 1914, when it attempted to pierce the French line of barrier forts, Verdun-Toul, and cross the Meuse. The angle of the salient incloses that part of the Meuse-Moselle watershed called, as has been said, the plain of the Woivre, flanked on the west by the forts of Verdun and on the east by those of Metz, lying in the bowl of the Moselle, within cannon shot of the French positions on the heights just below Pont-à-Mousson.

HISTORY OF THE SALIENT

The history of this salient is interesting. Away back in the Summer of 1912 a German company obtained a concession to establish a manufacturing plant on a piece of property near St. Mihiel. Unusually deep cellars were dug and con-

creted, but the buildings erected over them were of the flimsiest sort. The plant was soon abandoned and all entrances boarded up. Thus when the Army of Metz reached this site on Sept. 23 they found concrete emplacements already prepared for their seventeen-inch howitzers, and by them the Germans were enabled to reduce the French fort at the Roman Camp, as well as other redoubts within a seven-mile range, and to establish a bridgehead across the Meuse, which they have maintained ever since.

To strengthen this position they built a railway in March, 1915, from Thiaucourt down to St. Mihiel. In the following April the French attempted to get possession of this railway, but in vain. Little change took place on the sector facing the railway until Jan. 9 of the present year, when the French troops, soon to be replaced by American, as a parting gift to the Germans made a drive north of Seicheprey, destroying some enemy defenses recently erected and capturing prisoners. Under cover of this assault, it may be presumed, the Americans moved up to the front.

A description of the American front and what occurred there up to Feb. 18 is given on Page 423 of this issue. The nature of the terrain is graphically indicated in the full-page map herewith presented.

ON THE ITALIAN FRONT

When the snows came, in the last fortnight of December, blocking the Teuton lines of communication extending along the upper Piave—together with the railway leading down the same course from Belluno to their newly established depot at Feltre and thence to where their line crossed the river, north of Pederobba—and seriously interfering with their transportation by the two highways and one railway which lead from Trent, via the Val Sugana, down the Brenta, two gates still threatened the Plains of Veneto. In the west, there was that formed by the angle of the Brenta and the Frenzela Torrent, just above Valstagna on the road to Bassano; in the east, there was the Monte Tomba salient, extending to the enemy bridgehead on the Piave.

One was the complement of the other.

WALKER D. HINES



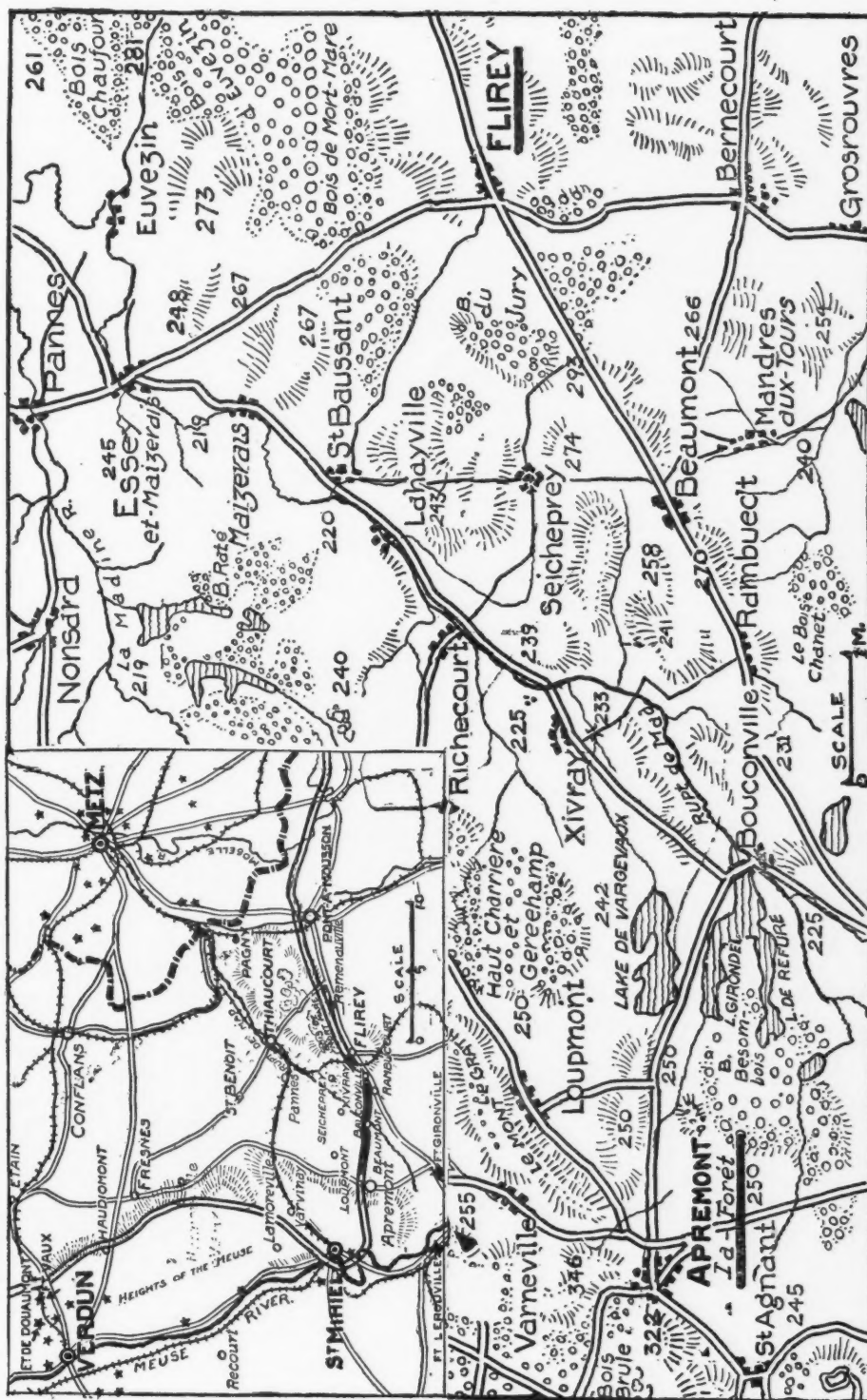
Chief executive aid to the Director General of Railroads. He is a well-known railroad attorney.

(© Harris & Ewing.)

SIGNING THE ARMISTICE AT BREST-LITOVSK, DEC. 16, 1917



Prince Leopold of Bavaria, commander of the Austro-German forces on the east front, is putting his signature to the Russo-Teutonic armistice. Sitting directly opposite him is Joffe, President of the Russian delegation.
(Photo International Film Service.)



REGION HELD BY AMERICAN TROOPS IN FRANCE: SMALL MAP IN THE CORNER SHOWS RELATION TO WHOLE BATTLE FRONT

Each presented special strategic advantages to the invader, the successful utilization of which would lead to a widely differing employment of tactics. Valstagna was like the neck of a bottle passing through which the enemy could reach Bassano and apparently be able to cut off the 4th Italian Army lying across the northern approaches of the Monte Grappa Range, between the Brenta and the Piave. A successful drive from the Monte Tomba salient would inevitably reach Pederobba and permit the enemy, if in sufficient force, to deploy along two highways, both running southwest to the Brenta Valley, one via Possagno, Crespago, and Borso to Romano, on the slopes of the mountains, and the other, via Asolo, to Bassano, on the plains themselves. A simultaneous breaking through the gates would not only jeopardize the 4th Army and cause a hurried retreat of the 1st, lying westward before Rovereto, but it would also imperil the 2d and the 3d Armies with their French and British auxiliaries on the Piave, and cause a general retreat to the Adige line, with the surrender of the famous cities of the Venetian plains, including the Pearl of the Adriatic itself.

It became necessary, therefore, before the enemy could reinforce himself, to close the two gates. The prospect for something else was also alluring, for, while the Italians enjoyed extensive mobility and supply, the Teutons, on account of the snows, did not.

TWO ITALIAN SUCCESSES

On Dec. 31, therefore, the French troops recaptured the northern summit of Monte Tomba, which the Austrians had held since November, inflicting numerous casualties on the enemy, including 1,400 prisoners. In the middle of January the French made a drive four miles east up the Piave in the direction of Quero, which had been held by the Austrians since Nov. 15. These two movements caused the Austrians, between Jan. 20 and 23, to yield the whole salient, moving their defense line north from Monte Monfenera to the shelter of the Calcina Torrent and Monte Spinoncia, in the northern hills of which the torrent rises and then flows southeast into

the Piave four miles away. Thus the eastern gate was closed.

Then, on Jan. 28, the Italians themselves closed the other, just in time to smash an Austrian drive directed down the Nos and Campo Mulo Valleys, and captured 1,500 prisoners, including 62 officers. The Italian surprise was at once pressed home throughout the entire region, extending from south of Gallio in the Val di Nos eastward across the Frenzela Torrent, via Bertigo, Monte Sisemol, the Col del Rosso, and the Monte di Val Bella, to the Brenta.

In this series of actions, it has been reported by the Italian General Headquarters Staff, the Austrians lost, all told, close to 10,000 men. For example, their 21st Rifle Division is known to have had 5,000 men, or about 70 per cent. of its complement, put out of action. Brigades of the 18th and 6th Divisions lost 50 per cent. But the most terrible loss was inflicted on the 160th Landsturm, which had only a few hundred left. When the offensive was well under way British and French batteries joined those of the Italians, which caused an Italian staff officer to remark: "At last we have realized unity of command right in the face of the enemy fire."

ENEMY ON THE DEFENSIVE

Other actions of the month have been a putting up of more bars across the two gates on the part of the Allies, and, on the part of the enemy, attempts to take them down. On Jan. 31 the enemy, after repeated unsuccessful attempts to regain lost ground in the area of Sasso Rosso, diverted his attack to Monte di Val Bella, whence the Italians had reached by a sudden thrust at dawn the head of the Melago Valley. This attack was also quickly dispersed by the Italian artillery fire. On Feb. 10 the enemy made similar thrusts east and west of the Frenzela Torrent, and at the Italian new positions on Monte di Val Bella and Col del Rosso; again the Italian artillery knew its business and did it. On succeeding days it has been the same story, with ever-increasing evidence that the enemy is growing short of munitions and is unable to reinforce himself.

As early as Jan. 21 General Borovich

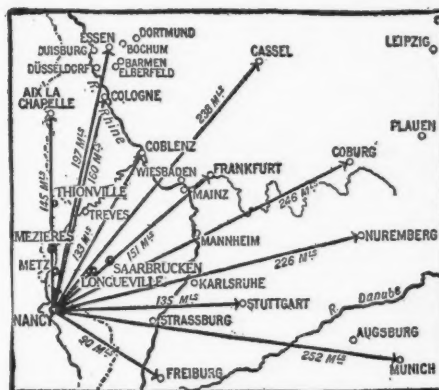
was appointed to succeed the Archduke Eugene in command of the entire enemy front against Italy. Emperor Charles looked for quick returns. He got them of a sort. Heretofore Field Marshal Conrad von Hoetzendorf had commanded the mountain front and Borovich the Piave. Conrad still commands in the north, and the promotion of Borovich to supreme command is not considered a criticism of his work—merely a sop thrown to the Slav element of Austria-Hungary, as Borovich is of Slavo-Croatian origin. It was the Archduke Eugene who planned the offensive of Austria into the Setti Comuni in May and June, 1916, which cost him between 80,000 and 100,000 men.

ACTIVITY OF AIRCRAFT

Never before has there been such activity in the air as during the period under observation. Aside from the customary bombing of the open towns of England and the open, historic towns of Italy, and the usual duels over the western front, the operations have conspicuously fallen into two categories—the bombing of the great supply stations of the Germans in the Rhine area by English, French, and American airmen, and the enormously successful offensive carried out by the Allies against the Teuton aircraft on the Italian front. Here, in a period of eleven days, fifty-six enemy airplanes were brought down in combats in which the casualties to the Italian, French, and British aviators were nil. For the first time since July 27-28, 1917, German airplanes, on Jan. 30, visited Paris, killing twenty and injuring twenty. The first American airmen to lose their lives in Italy were three cadets, who fell while training on the fields near Foggia.

Much has been written about the inhumane method of the Germans in periodically bombing the open towns of England. It has been said to have for its aim the terrorizing of the people. It is much more: it has constantly kept employed for home defense hundreds of batteries of anti-aircraft guns and hundreds of airplanes which would have taken the offensive on the Continent. When the so-called campaign of reprisals began

against German cities—not open towns, but supply and concentration posts—the enemy did not adopt the British methods of defense. They placed large bodies of prisoners in the exposed places. There is no doubt of this, as it is confirmed,



AIR RAID REPRISALS BY ALLIES—FROM NANCY AS A BASE

at least as to Stuttgart and Karlsruhe, by the Cologne Gazette of Jan. 7.

BRITISH AIR RAIDS

On Jan. 24 extensive air raids were carried out by the British against Mannheim, the principal commercial city of the Rhine Valley; against the garrison and supply towns of Treves and Saarbrücken, in Rhenish Prussia; Thionville, in German Lorraine, and enemy bases in Belgium, either concentration camps or airdromes. Mannheim, which is about 115 miles north of Nancy, has been repeatedly visited. Below the town, at the mouth of the Neckar, is Germany's great inland submarine base. On Feb. 5, French airmen dropped several tons of bombs on Saarbrücken, and on the 10th the British paid a visit to the forts of Metz and dropped ten tons of bombs on the railway tracks at Courcelles.

These raids are directed against arsenals, supply depots, lines and junctions of communication, naval repair shops, and airdromes. They seriously interfere with the enemy's movements.

BATTLE WITH TURKISH CRUISERS

On Sunday morning, Jan. 20, the British naval forces in the Eastern Mediterranean engaged the German battle cruiser Goeben, (Turkish name Sultan Selim,)

the light cruiser Breslau, (Turkish name Midullu,) and destroyers. The Breslau was sunk, the Goeben was beached, and then escaped into the Dardanelles. The two German ships mentioned are those which, at the beginning of the war, escaped from Admiral Troubridge's clutches, reached the Golden Horn, and, before Turkey entered the war, were announced as having been sold to her and receiving Turkish names and the Turkish flag.

As genuine naval actions are rare nowadays the full British Admiralty report on the engagement may prove of interest:

At 5:20 A. M., (Jan. 20,) when his Majesty's destroyer Lizard was about two miles from the northeasterly point of Imbros on patrol duty, she sighted Breslau steaming in a northerly direction to the southeast of Cape Kephala, shortly followed by Goeben, about a mile astern.

His Majesty's ship Lizard at once gave the alarm, and, opening fire, proceeded to keep in as close touch as possible with the enemy ships. Goeben and Breslau engaged Lizard at about 11,000 yards, straddling her without hitting.

Goeben now sighted the monitors in Kusu Bay, on the northeast corner of Imbros, and engaged them, Breslau continuing to engage Lizard, who was prevented from closing to torpedo range by the accuracy of the enemy's fire at shorter range.

His Majesty's destroyer Tigress now joined Lizard, and the two destroyers endeavored to cover the monitors by forming a smoke screen, in attempting which they were subjected to an accurate fire from Goeben. Meanwhile his Majesty's ship Raglan had been heavily hit and sunk, and the small monitor M-28, which was on fire amidships, blew up and finally disappeared about 6 A. M. The enemy then ceased fire and altered course to the southward.

Tigress and Lizard, observing that trawlers were coming to the assistance of the monitors, followed the enemy. At 7 A. M., when Breslau was about six miles south of Kephala, a large explosion was observed abreast her after-funnel. Two or three minutes later three more explosions took place, and at 7:10 she sank by the stern, heeling over as she went down. On seeing Breslau sink Goeben turned and circled round her once, and then continued on her southerly course.

Immediately after this four enemy destroyers were sighted coming out of the Dardanelles, supported by an old Turkish cruiser. Tigress and Lizard at once en-

gaged the enemy destroyers, which hurriedly retired up the strait, the nearest one being hit repeatedly and set on fire.

Goeben continued on her southerly course until an attack by our aircraft forced her to alter course and head for the Dardanelles.

In the act of turning, however, she struck a mine, which caused her to settle down aft with a list of 10 to 15 degrees, and which considerably reduced her speed. She proceeded slowly up the Dardanelles, escorted by enemy seaplanes and the four Turkish destroyers, which had returned to her assistance.

Our aircraft repeatedly attacked her and obtained two direct hits when off Chanak. Goeben was now in such a damaged condition that she was steered for the shore, and was beached at the extreme end of Nagara Point, about 100 yards from the lighthouse. Shortly after beaching two more direct hits were made on her by our aircraft, who were heavily engaged by several enemy seaplanes. In the encounters which took place one of our seaplanes failed to return.

The shore batteries at Cape Helles then opened an accurate fire on Tigress and Lizard, who had been following Goeben, and in view of the activity of our naval aircraft the two destroyers retired out of range and proceeded to rescue the survivors of Breslau.

During these operations the periscope of a submarine was sighted, and the work of rescue was seriously interfered with while the destroyers hunted the submarine.

The German survivors from Breslau expressed intense dislike for the Turks, and stated that they had hoped to be sent back to Germany on Goeben's return to Constantinople after the raid.

Our aircraft reported on Monday afternoon that Goeben was still ashore in the same position. She is still being bombed.

The Turkish report of the encounter sent by wireless to Berlin on Jan. 21 reads as follows:

In a clever attack the Sultan Selim, the Midullu, and some torpedo boats advanced yesterday out of the Dardanelles, in order to destroy enemy forces which had been located near Imbros. Two enemy monitors, the Raglan, (4,500 tons,) with two 35.6 centimeter (14-inch) guns, and M-28, (500 tons,) with one 23.4 centimeter (9.2-inch) gun and one 15.2 centimeter (6-inch) gun, a transport ship of 2,000 tons, a signal station, and numerous munition depots were destroyed. Lively aerial activity reigned on both sides. An enemy airplane was shot down in an aerial fight and a second was seriously damaged. The coastal batteries successfully bombarded enemy torpedo boats. On the return the Midullu was sunk by striking several mines.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From
January 18, 1918, Up to and Including February 15, 1918

UNITED STATES

A bill providing for the creation of a Department of Munitions was introduced in Congress by Senator Chamberlain on Jan. 5, and on Jan. 22 he introduced a bill providing for a War Cabinet. Both measures were opposed by President Wilson.

Secretary Baker, in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs in defense of the work of the War Department Jan. 28, announced that 500,000 men would be in France early in 1918, and 1,000,000 more would be sent before the end of the year.

Announcement was made on Jan. 31 that United States troops were occupying first-line trenches. On the same day news was received of a German raid on the American line, in which two Americans were killed, four wounded, and one reported missing. On Feb. 3 an official statement was made that Americans were on the Lorraine front. Two Americans were killed and nine wounded in the bombardment of that sector. American prisoners were taken at Xivry Feb. 9. From that date on daily reports of trench raids, with a few casualties, were received.

Major Gen. Peyton C. March was appointed Chief of the General Staff of the army Feb. 1.

New regulations to prevent goods leaving the United States in neutral bottoms from reaching Germany, and to make it impossible for ships to supply submarines, went into effect Feb. 1 by order of the War Trade Board. On Feb. 15 President Wilson issued proclamations making subject to control by license the entire foreign commerce of the United States.

The War Finance Corporation bill was introduced in the House and Senate Feb. 4.

Nine German subjects and two American citizens, among the former Franz von Rintelen, were convicted and sentenced for attempting to blow up the British transatlantic cargo steamer Kirk Oswald.

A bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator Overman on Feb. 6 to give the President unrestricted power to co-ordinate and consolidate all Governmental activities as a war emergency.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Announcement was made on Jan. 30 that since the launching of unrestricted submarine warfare on Feb. 1, 1917, 69 Amer-

ican ships, totaling 171,061 gross tons, had been sunk by submarines, mines, and raiders, and 300 persons drowned. To offset this loss, 107 German and Austrian ships, having a gross tonnage of 686,494, were seized and added to the American merchant marine, 426 vessels totaling more than 2,000,000 tons were requisitioned through the Shipping Board, and contracts were awarded for 884 more ships.

The total tonnage lost by Allies and neutrals from Jan. 1, 1917, to Jan. 26, 1918, was 6,617,000. Great Britain lost 1,169 ships.

A statement made in the British House of Commons on Feb. 5 revealed the fact that German U-boats had killed 14,120 non-combatant British men, women, and children since the beginning of the war.

England's losses for the week ended Jan. 19 included eight ships of over 1,000 tons; for the week ended Jan. 26, nine; for the week ended Feb. 2, ten, and for the week ended Feb. 9, nineteen. The armed escort vessel Mechanician was torpedoed in the English Channel on Jan. 30 and thirteen men were lost. The Cunard liner Andania was torpedoed off the Ulster coast Jan. 27, and her sister ship, the Aurania, was attacked Feb. 6, but remained afloat. The Irish steamship Cork was sunk Jan. 28, and twelve persons were lost. On Jan. 21 the armed boarding steamer Louvain was sunk in the Mediterranean, with a loss of 217 lives.

The British steamer Tuscania, serving as a transport for American troops, was sunk off the coast of Ireland on Feb. 5. Eighty-two known dead were reported, and 216 were unaccounted for.

The American freighter Alamance was sunk off the English coast Feb. 6, and six lives were lost.

The Argentine steamship Ministro Irriendo was sunk in the Mediterranean Jan. 26. On Feb. 1, Argentina's military and naval attachés were recalled from Berlin and Vienna.

French and Italian losses averaged one or two ships of over 1,600 tons weekly.

The Swedish steamship Fridland, loaded with grain from an American port, was torpedoed Feb. 7. Six men were killed.

Spain sent a protest to the German Government, Feb. 7, against the looting and torpedoing of the Spanish steamer Giralda on Jan. 26. Announcement was made on Feb. 9 that the Spanish steamship Sebastian was torpedoed while on its way to New York, and the Italian ship Duca di

Genova was reported sunk in Spanish territorial waters. The sinking of another Spanish ship, the *Ceferino*, was announced Feb. 13.

The Norwegian Government announced that from the outbreak of the war to the end of January, 1918, a total of 714 Norwegian ships, of 1,050,583 gross tonnage, had been sunk, and 883 seamen had lost their lives. Fifty-three other ships, with more than 700 members of their crews, were reported missing.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Jan. 18—German raids south and west of the Oise repulsed by the French.

Jan. 23—Germans gain footing east of Neuport, but are expelled in counterattack.

Jan. 26—French repulse German raids west of St. Gobain, between the Oise and the Ailette Rivers.

Jan. 29—French penetrate deep German intrenchments in Upper Alsace.

Feb. 1—Two Americans killed, four wounded, and one missing after German raid on their salient.

Feb. 3—Germans bombard American sector on the Lorraine front; two Americans killed, nine wounded.

Feb. 4—French repulse a raid west of Fresnes.

Feb. 5—Fighting renewed in the sector held by Americans.

Feb. 6—Violent artillery engagement on the Verdun front.

Feb. 9—American prisoners taken at Xivry; French repulse German raids in the region of Neuport and Juincourt and Moronvilliers.

Feb. 10—German attack near Caubrières Wood repulsed; Australians raid German positions southeast of Messines.

Feb. 13—French penetrate German third-line positions southwest of Butte-Mesnil; Canadians and Germans engage in hand-to-hand combats northwest of Passchendaele.

Feb. 14-15—American gunners aid French raid in the Champagne sector, between Tahure and Butte de Mesnil.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Jan. 19—Italians on the Lower Piave repulse attack on the Capo Sile bridgehead.

Jan. 24—Teutons evacuate territory on the Monte Tomba front from the Piave River westward and move their defense lines back to Monte Spinoncia.

Jan. 29—Italians break Teuton lines at several points east of the Asiago Plateau and disperse reinforcements which are rushed through the Nos and Campo Mulo Valleys.

Jan. 30—Italians extend their gains on the Asiago Plateau, taking Monte di Val Bella.

Jan. 31—Italians advance northeast of Col del Rosso.

Feb. 1—Italians advance their lines as far as the head of the Melago Valley.

Feb. 2—Teutons repulsed at Monte di Val Bella.

Feb. 11—Italians shatter violent attacks west of the Brenta River.

NAVAL RECORD

The Turkish cruiser *Midullu*, formerly the German *Breslau*, was sunk by a mine, and the Sultan *Yawuz Selim*, formerly the German *Goeben*, was beached, after an engagement with British forces at the entrance to the Dardanelles on Jan. 20. The British lost the monitor *Raglan* and the small monitor *M-28*. The *Goeben* was later refloated and entered the Dardanelles. The British submarine *E-14*, which was sent into the Dardanelles on the night of Jan. 27 to complete the destruction of the *Goeben*, was sunk off Kum Kale.

Ostend was bombarded by allied naval forces on Jan. 20 and Feb. 6.

The French freight transport *La Drome* and the trawler *Kerbihan* were sunk by mines off Marseilles Jan. 23. Forty-five men were lost on the *Drome*.

Italian torpedo craft forced their way west of Dalmatia into the Bay of Buccari, Feb. 11, and torpedoed the largest Austrian steamer anchored there.

A raiding flotilla of German destroyers sunk eight British boats that were hunting submarines in the Strait of Dover Feb. 15.

AERIAL RECORD

British aviators, on the nights of Jan. 21 and 24, raided towns in the occupied parts of Belgium and in German Lorraine. Mannheim, Treves, Saarbrücken, and Thionville were bombarded.

Several raids were made on towns in Italy. On the night of Jan. 26 Austrian airmen dropped bombs on Treviso and Mestre, killing three women. Three hospitals at Mestre were damaged, and two Americans, William Platt and Richard Cutts Fairfield, who were attached to the American Red Cross, were killed at Mestre. Venice, Padua, Treviso, and Mestre were attacked Feb. 4 and 6. In the raid on the 4th eight citizens were killed at Treviso and the Church of San Lorenzo was wrecked. Five enemy machines were brought down on the 5th. Calliano, Bassano, Treviso, and Mestre were raided on Feb. 6. Announcement was made that between Jan. 26 and Feb. 7 fifty-six Teuton airplanes had been brought down by the Allies on the Italian front. An Italian aviator dropped a ton of bombs on the hostile aviation grounds at Motta di Livenza Feb. 6.

London was raided on the night of Jan. 28. Fifty-eight persons were killed and 173 injured. The next night another raid was made and ten persons were killed and ten injured.

Paris and its suburbs were attacked on the night of Jan. 30. Forty-five persons were killed and 207 injured.

Announcement was made Feb. 3 that Ger-

many had tried two British airmen by court-martial and sentenced them to ten years' imprisonment for dropping a hostile proclamation in Germany.

RUSSIA, RUMANIA, POLAND

On Jan. 18 the Revolutionary Committee of the Ninth Russian Army sent a two-hour ultimatum to the Rumanian military authorities demanding free passage for Russian troops through Jassy. King Ferdinand was placed under the protection of the Allies. The Russians were defeated at Galatz on Jan. 26. The Bolshevik Government severed diplomatic relations with Rumania on Jan. 28, and Rumanian Legation and Consular officials were ordered out of Russia. Lieut. Gen. Tcherbatcheff was outlawed. Kishenev was occupied by the Rumanians on Feb. 1, and on the same day the Bolsheviks seized Rumanian ships in the Black Sea. The Rumanian Cabinet resigned Feb. 10 after receiving an ultimatum from Germany demanding that peace negotiations be begun in four days.

The Constituent Assembly, which met at Petrograd on Jan. 19, was dissolved on Jan. 20 by the Council of National Commissioners, although the All-Russian Railway Men's Congress passed a resolution supporting it and calling upon the People's Commissaries to aid the majority in forming a Government responsible to the assembly. On Jan. 26 the All-Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates passed a resolution of confidence in the Government of the National Commissaries and approved all measures enacted by it, and on Jan. 30 the Congress adopted the Constitution of the "Russian Socialistic Soviet Republic."

A. I. Shingaroff and Professor F. F. Kokoshine, Cadets and former Ministers of the Provisional Government, were murdered by the Bolsheviks in the Marine Hospital at Petrograd Jan. 23.

Odessa and Orenburg were captured by the Bolsheviks on Feb. 1 and Niepin was taken by their troops in Minsk on Feb. 4.

The American Ambassador, David R. Francis, notified the State Department on Jan. 30 that he had been threatened by Russian anarchists and warned that he would be held responsible for the life and liberty of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, who were imprisoned in the United States for conspiracy to obstruct the army draft law.

The Bolshevik Government announced on Feb. 2 that British and other foreign embassies would not be allowed to draw on funds deposited in the Russian banks until the Bolshevik Government should be allowed to have complete disposal of Russian funds in the Bank of England.

The Petrograd Soviet issued a decree on Feb. 4, signed by Lenine and other members of the de facto Government, separating

the Church and the State. As a result of the seizure of the Alexander Nevsky Monastery in Petrograd by the Bolsheviks on Feb. 1, the Metropolitan of Moscow issued an anathema threatening the participants with excommunication.

A counter-revolutionary plot, headed by Ensigns Sinebrukoff and Wolk, was unearthed in Petrograd on Feb. 1. Wolk was arrested and killed. General Verkhovski, who was War Minister in the Kerensky régime, was arrested on Feb. 4.

A Congress of Cossack Socialists was inaugurated at the military station of Kamesky on Jan. 26 and passed a resolution declaring war on General Kaledine and assuming all authority.

The Tartars held a constituent assembly in the ancient Tartar capital of Bakhtchisarai on Feb. 1 and announced the establishment of an autonomous Crimean republic. Yalta, in the Government of Taurida, was occupied by the Tartars on Feb. 4, and they then advanced on Sebastopol.

A revolution began in the eastern province of Finland on Jan. 28. The loyal army, or White Guards, under General Mannerheim, occupied Uleaborg and Tammerfors on Feb. 6 after an encounter with the Red Guards, or revolutionists, who were aided by the Russians. Viborg was taken by the White Guards Feb. 8.

Ensign Krylenko, the Bolshevik Commander in Chief, issued a decree on Feb. 7, ordering that all supplies be cut off from the Polish legion in the Russian Army and declaring its commander, Dovbor Mousnitsky, an outlaw. He also appealed to all Bolsheviks to leave Polish commands. The decree was prompted by the refusal of the Polish commands to reduce their officers to the ranks and submit to Bolshevik democratization. Smolensk was captured by the Poles Feb. 10.

Kiev, the seat of the Ukrainian Rada, fell under control of the Bolsheviks on Jan. 30. Mussulmans in South Russia, including the Crimea, co-operated with the Ukrainians against the Bolsheviks. The Ukrainians claimed a great victory over the Bolsheviks at Sarny Feb. 8, and the same day the Bolsheviks failed in an attempt to occupy Kiev. M. Holubowicz was appointed Premier of the Ukraine.

Russian delegates to the Brest-Litovsk conference decided on Jan. 24 to reject Germany's peace terms, which called for the cession of Courland and the Baltic provinces to Germany. Another conference opened on Jan. 30. The question of Poland presented a difficulty. Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, while declaring his readiness to recognize the independence and right of self-government of the Polish State, contended that the fact of foreign occupation prevented him from recognizing the repre-

sentatives of the State under existing conditions.

Announcement was made on Feb. 7 that steamship service between the Asiatic ports of Russia and Constantinople had been resumed in the Black Sea since Jan. 11, and the Russians were reported to be supplying the Turks with food.

A peace treaty between the Central Powers and the Ukraine was signed Feb. 9.

Germany announced on Feb. 11 that the Bolsheviks had declared the state of war with the Teutonic powers at an end and had demobilized the Russian armies.

The Belgian Government's reply to Pope Benedict's peace note was made public Jan. 23.

On Jan. 24 Chancellor von Hertling, in an address before the Main Committee of the German Reichstag, replied to President Wilson's statements on war aims, and on the same day Count Czernin addressed Austrian delegations of the Reichsrat on the attitude of Austria-Hungary on peace. Philip Scheidemann replied to von Hertling in the Reichstag, accepting eleven points of President Wilson's program, and attacking the German military leaders. On Jan. 25 and 26 the German Foreign Minister, von Kühlmann, made speeches in the Main Committee of the Reichstag justifying the policy pursued by the German representatives at Brest-Litovsk and denouncing the Bolsheviks as ruling by force. The Turkish Foreign Minister, Nessim Bey, expressed complete accord with the Czernin and Hertling speeches in

an address before the Chamber of Deputies, Feb. 8.

Replies to Hertling and Czernin were delivered by President Wilson in an address to Congress Feb. 11, and by Lloyd George in a speech to Parliament Feb. 12.

The British House of Commons on Feb. 13 rejected a resolution expressing regret that in accordance with the decisions of the Supreme War Council at Versailles prosecution of the military effort was the immediate task of the war.

Peace strikes occurred in Austria-Hungary and in Germany, but were suppressed by the military forces.

Count Rudolph von Valentini was displaced by Herr von Berg as Chief of the German Emperor's Civil Cabinet Jan. 20.

Sir Edward Carson resigned from the British War Cabinet Jan. 21. His resignation was followed by that of Lieut. Col. James Craig, Lord Treasurer of the Household.

The House of Commons passed the third reading of the Man-Power bill on Jan. 24. The Supreme War Council of the Allies convened at Versailles Jan. 29. It was decided to continue the vigorous prosecution of the war.

A War Trade Board was established in Canada to co-operate with the United States War Trade Board.

Bolo Pacha was convicted of treason in France and sentenced to death Feb. 14. His co-defendant, Darius Porchère, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, and Filippo Cavallin, another co-defendant, under arrest in Italy, was sentenced to death.

The Sinking of the *Tuscania*

America's Greatest Military Loss to Date

THE first serious military loss of the United States in the war against Germany occurred on Feb.

5, 1918, when a submarine torpedoed and sank the British steamship *Tuscania* of the Anchor Line. The vessel was under charter to the Cunard Line and serving as a transport for American troops, mostly National Guardsmen from Michigan and Wisconsin. On Oct. 1, 1917, the United States Army transport *Antilles* had been sunk by a German submarine while returning from France under convoy, with a loss of sixty-seven men, the majority of them wounded soldiers. That was the first disaster of the kind. The sinking of the

Tuscania was the second, and the death roll was much larger.

There were 2,179 American soldiers on board the *Tuscania* at the time the vessel was torpedoed off the north coast of Ireland. The total number of victims is still in doubt at this writing, (Feb. 18,) but it is known to include 164 whose bodies were washed ashore on the Scottish coast and buried there with appropriate services. Thirty or more of these had not been identified. Many of the passengers were still unaccounted for. The members of the crew who lost their lives were nearly all killed in the explosion in the engine room.

The survivors were for the most part

quartered in hotels, private residences, and hospitals along the north coast of Ireland. Two groups were sent off to Belfast by rail and thence by boat to England. Everywhere the inhabitants gave the Americans a warm welcome and spared no pains to make them comfortable.

The possibility of being torpedoed had been discussed almost daily from the time the *Tuscania* left American shores. Several hundred lumberjacks from the Northwest and Pacific Coast States were eating their evening meal when the disaster occurred. Hundreds of other American troops were waiting for their meals when the general alarm sounded. False alarms had been sounded for boat drill every day on the trip, but all knew that this one was genuine. Officers shouted instructions to the men. Many of them were husky youths, and, despite their brief military training, they displayed wonderful coolness as they marched to their boat stations. There was no running about, nothing resembling a panic. In a few isolated cases there were signs of nervousness on the part of some of the youngsters as the ship took a heavy tilt to starboard, and they slid to the rail, to which they clung for dear life. But that was all. Veteran British officers in the crew, who had themselves been on torpedoed ships, marveled at their coolness.

The rescue work was done by British destroyers, trawlers later coming on the scene and picking up survivors whom the destroyers had missed. One of the trawlers rescued the record number of 340, all Americans.

The *Tuscania* was attacked in the early evening of Feb. 5, while proceeding under convoy in sight of the Irish coast. With other troop and provision ships, which after a long passage across the Atlantic were entering what, until recently, were considered comparatively safe waters, the *Tuscania* was moving along in the dusk, the land just distinguishable in the distance, when a torpedo struck the liner amidships. No sign of a submarine had been seen before the blow was struck, according to most accounts. Apparently two torpedoes were launched at the liner. The first, according to some survivors,

passed just astern of the vessel, while the second struck in the vicinity of No. 1 boiler.

The steamship at once took a heavy list to starboard, but the damage done was seen to be not so serious as to cause immediate sinking. Instead of plowing forward as most vessels do under the circumstances, the *Tuscania* stopped dead. A shiver ran through her, and she heeled over at a dangerous angle. The list to starboard so elevated the lifeboats on the port side as to render them practically useless, and only a few boats on that side were launched. The first of these struck the water unevenly, capsizing and throwing the occupants into the sea. After that several boats were launched successfully, but the vessel's list became more perilous, and some of the men who were trying to get into the boats from the starboard side now climbed along the deck to the rail, to which they clung. Many by this time had donned lifebelts and jumped overboard. Hundreds of others were preparing to follow this example when a British destroyer drew up right alongside the *Tuscania*.

When the men saw this many of them leaped from the boat and saloon decks to that of the waiting destroyer. This destroyer took off several hundred men, all she could carry, and moved away. She had come up along the starboard side of the *Tuscania*. As she steamed away with her deck loaded down with Americans another British destroyer emerged out of the darkness on the *Tuscania*'s port side, now high out of the water. When the men on the doomed ship recovered from their surprise at this skillful manoeuvring of the British commander there was another scramble to reach the elevated port rail, from which some of the men slid down the ship's side by the aid of ropes, and others on their hands and knees. All the time this rescue work was progressing, cool heads were getting the few other lifeboats afloat.

The troops on board the *Tuscania* included 750 of the First Forestry Engineers, recruited from different parts of the country; one battalion of Michigan Engineers and one battalion of Wisconsin

Engineers, parts of three regiments of former Wisconsin infantry, detachments of former National Guard troops from Michigan, and three Aero Squadrons, largely from New York.

Most of the deaths were caused by the

capsizing of lifeboats in the attempt to lower them from the port side of the ship. Many of those thus thrown into the icy waters perished of exposure even after they had reached rafts or other boats.

The Month's Submarine Warfare

Although the latter part of the period indicates a tendency toward greater losses, the number of British ships sunk during the last month shows a considerable decrease in contrast with the month before:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fish- ing Ves- sels.
Week ended Jan. 20.....	6	2	..
Week ended Jan. 27.....	9	6	..
Week ended Feb. 3.....	10	5	4
Week ended Feb. 10.....	13	6	3
Total for four weeks.....	38	19	7
Total previous 4 weeks...	53	9	7

Two great tragedies of the sea were revealed by the British Admiralty announcement of the sinking of two transports, with a loss of 809 lives. The transport *Aragon* was torpedoed and sunk in the Eastern Mediterranean on Dec. 30, 1917. A British destroyer, while picking up survivors, was herself torpedoed and sunk. The mercantile fleet auxiliary *Osmanieh* struck a mine and sank on Dec. 31 in approximately the same locality as the *Aragon*. The lives lost were: Captains and officers of the two steamers, 7; crew, 36; military officers, 11; soldiers, 747; female nurses, 8; total, 809.

Another revelation of the ravages of the German submarines was made by Lord Rhondda, the British Food Controller, in a speech on Jan. 26, when he said that in one week in December cargoes including 3,000,000 pounds of bacon and 4,000,000 pounds of cheese were sunk.

According to a reply given by Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the House of Commons on Feb. 5, German submarines had up to that date been responsible for the death of 14,120 noncombatant British men, women, and children.

A complete survey of Norwegian vessels during 1917 shows that the number

lost was 434, aggregating 686,862 tons. The number of Norwegian sailors known to have been killed was 401, while 258 were missing or unaccounted for.

In the first twelve months of unrestricted warfare launched against American and allied shipping by Germany on Feb. 1, 1917, there were sunk by submarines, mines, and raiders 69 American vessels, representing 171,061 tons. On the other hand, former German and Austro-Hungarian ships seized by the United States numbered 107, having an aggregate tonnage of 686,494. The credit balance in America's favor was, therefore, 38 ships and 515,435 gross tons. The loss of life caused by the sinking of the 69 American vessels was more than 300 persons.

The first definite information as to the scope of the new danger zones decreed by the German Government was made public in Washington on Jan. 29, when the Secretary of State issued the text of the German order, which had been received through the Swiss Legation. The decree bore date of Jan. 5, 1918, and was described as a supplement to the decree of Jan. 31, 1917. It established two very large barred areas in the North Atlantic Ocean. One was around the Cape Verde Islands, off the Senegalese coast of Africa. The other extended from the Madeira and Azores Islands, and included both these groups. The metes and bounds of the new barred areas, charted on the naval hydrographic chart of the North Atlantic Ocean, showed that both zones covered routes between South American ports and Europe and North American and European ports and Africa.

HOSPITAL SHIP TORPEDOED

The British hospital ship *Rewa*, a vessel of over 7,000 tons, brilliantly lighted with all the distinctive Red Cross mark-

ings, was torpedoed and sunk in the British Channel on the night of Jan. 4, 1918, while on the way home from the Mediterranean. Before the vessel sank all the wounded, nearly 300, were saved, and the only casualties were three Lascars, who were probably killed by the explosion. The sinking of the Rewa caused great indignation in Great Britain, because the vessel was not, and had not been, the British official statement said, "within the so-called barred zone as delimited in the statement issued by the German Government on Jan. 29, 1917." The Germans originally sought to justify their attacks on Red Cross ships by alleging that these vessels were misused and carried ammunition. With a view to preventing further outrages by the enemy, the British Government agreed that each hospital ship should carry a neutral Com-

missioner, appointed by the Spanish Government, as a guarantee against any abuse of the privileges attaching to Red Cross vessels. On Sept. 9, 1917, it was announced that King Alfonso had obtained from the belligerent Governments an agreement which would permit the free passage of French and British hospital ships in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic as far north as the English Channel. Spanish officers were to board the hospital ships at Gibraltar and Toulon. In accordance with the agreement, a Spanish representative traveled in the Rewa from Saloniki, but left the vessel at Gibraltar. This was the ship's last port of call, so that there was no possibility of the sanctity of the Rewa as a hospital ship, of which the Spanish officer would have satisfied himself, having been violated afterward.

America in the War

A Record of the Month

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 18, 1918]

PROGRESS in America's war preparations, both at home and abroad, was very considerable during January and February. The taking over of a part of the French line in Lorraine indicated that Pershing's army was emerging from the state of preparation. As will be seen from the article on Page 423, by the middle of February the training operations included work on the firing line which involved casualties and had already produced a death roll.

The navy has been growing at a rapid rate, as was shown in the report issued on Jan. 16, 1918, by William B. Oliver, Chairman of the special sub-committee of the House Naval Affairs Committee which inquired into the conduct of the naval side of the war. Mr. Oliver showed that 424 war vessels were under construction or contract by the Navy Department, in addition to submarine chasers; that this was the largest building program undertaken by any navy, and that the progress made in warship con-

struction and in expanding naval ship-building facilities had been "phenomenal." One destroyer was recently finished by a navy yard in fifty-one weeks, one week less than a year, whereas before the war the shortest time on record for the building of an American destroyer was eighteen months, while very few of our destroyers were built in less than two years in the pre-war period. The investigating committee was impressed by the "efficient and expeditious methods" employed in the naval Bureaus of Ordnance, Construction, and Steam Engineering. These bureaus did not wait for the outbreak of war, but began making extensive preparations, began accumulating stores on a large scale, and took other important military steps before the actual outbreak of war. The statement disclosed that since the United States entered the war the navy has taken over and converted to war use between 700 and 800 passenger and freight vessels, yachts, tugs, fishing boats, and other craft.

Simultaneously with the growth of the armed forces on land and sea, the drafting of civilians into the new armies and their training and equipment, there was a considerable amount of criticism in Congress and the press. Secretary Baker's war administration was the particular object of attack, and demands for reorganization were insistent in many quarters. A full review of the attack in Congress and Secretary Baker's defense will be found on Pages 457-73 of this issue.

While the management of the War Department has been productive of controversy, the industrial mobilization of the nation has encountered the first serious emergency since the United States entered the war. The crisis, which reached its height in January, 1918, arose from a shortage of coal in the great cities and manufacturing centres of the East. But the shortage was really due to the absence of sufficient transportation facilities to move coal and other freight and also adequate terminal accommodation to cope with the congestion of merchandise, in its turn due to the lack of enough shipping. This phase is treated on Page 473 of this issue.

It became more obvious than ever before that the basis of America's aid to the Allies was the providing of ships for the transport of troops, for the continuous stream of supplies to keep the armies in the field properly equipped, and for the supply of food and other necessities for the Allies. Pershing summed up the vital need of the situation in the exhortation to make "a bridge of ships" to France. Under Chairman Hurley the Shipping Board and its Emergency Fleet Corporation increased their efforts to hasten the production of ships from the many new yards which came into existence during 1917. Everything in the way of material necessary for the carrying out of the great building program was available, but at the critical moment, early in February, 1918, when a call was sent out for skilled labor and a recruiting campaign initiated to obtain 250,000 additional shipyard workers, discontent on the part of the workmen threatened to tie up every yard on the Atlantic

Coast. Several thousand men went on strike, and by the middle of February the stoppage seemed about to extend unless a considerable advance in wages were granted.

William L. Hutcheson, General President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, in a statement on Feb. 15 issued demands for a "closed shop" in shipyards and a wage scale similar to that in force on the Pacific Coast, ignoring at the same time the suggestion that differences should be settled by the Government Labor Adjustment Board. This was the first serious labor trouble, apart from the I. W. W. agitation in the West, with which the Government had been confronted since the nation went to war, and was more serious because the shipyard workers belong to well-organized unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, presided over by Samuel Gompers, whereas the I. W. W. is very loosely organized, sporadic in its action, and strongly discountenanced by the American Federation of Labor.

The trouble was ended by the intervention of President Wilson, who, on Feb. 17, addressed a telegram to Mr. Hutcheson in which he said:

I feel it to be my duty to call your attention to the fact that the strike of carpenters in the shipyards is in marked and painful contrast to the action of labor in other trades and places. * * *

All the other unions engaged in this indispensable work have agreed to abide by the decisions of the Shipbuilding Wage Adjustment Board. * * *

If you do not act upon this principle, you are undoubtedly giving aid and comfort to the enemy, whatever may be your own conscious purpose. * * *

It is the duty of the Government to see that the best possible conditions of labor are maintained, as it is also its duty to see to it that there is no lawless and conscienceless profiteering, and that duty the Government has accepted and will perform. Will you co-operate or will you obstruct?

Mr. Hutcheson promptly replied that he was doing his utmost to induce the striking carpenters and joiners to return to work. With his staff of brotherhood officials he took energetic steps, issuing instructions to all local officials to get the strikers back to work on the following day, Monday, Feb. 18.

In the sphere of finance and trade, the most interesting developments were the Government's proposal to create a corporation to control issues of bonds and stocks, and the placing of the whole of the country's foreign trade under a licensing system. The object of the new finance corporation is to stabilize monetary conditions in connection with the issue of Government loans; while the

control of foreign trade is dictated by the necessities of the shipping situation; no imports or exports of any character can be handled except by special license, and it is believed that the foreign commerce of the country will be reduced considerably and enable fully one million additional tons of shipping to be diverted for the transport of troops and supplies to the oversea forces.

America on the Battle Front

[See map on page 411.]

THE announcement was authorized by the War Department on Jan. 31, 1918, that American soldiers in France were occupying front-line trenches and bearing the full brunt of the defense of certain sectors of the line. This was the first time that the War Department authorized mention of the fact that the American expeditionary forces were occupying trenches for other than training purposes.

A dispatch, dated Feb. 5, from The Associated Press correspondent with the American Army in France stated that the sector occupied by the American troops was northwest of Toul, which indicated that they were on the south side of the St. Mihiel salient. Writing in the *Paris Temps*, Commandant de Civrieux described the American sector in the following terms:

According to indications given, the region in which our allies are established for their début is that of the Woëvre, in a district which, at this season, is most impracticable for the movements of troops. It is a low plain, shut in on one side by the Highlands (Hauts) of the Meuse, and on another by the hills of the Moselle—all of it covered with pools and swamps.

To the west may be seen the skyline of the forests of Apremont, where the prolonged combats of Ailly and the Bois Brulé took place.

To the east is the Bois de Mort-Mare, often mentioned in the dispatches, extending in a succession of clumps of trees as far as the grove of Le Prêtre, within which so much heroism has been displayed.

The plain sinks toward the centre like a bowl, where the ground is quite impassable except in the dry weeks of Summer. The pools, variously cut up, terminate in

a series of gullies, along which run stone-laid trails, which, at least until May, constitute the only available roads.

In the rear, and sustaining the first lines, obviously parallel with the route St. Mihiel-Pont à Mousson, which, to a large extent they inclose, extends the forest of the Reine, with its many patches of stagnant water.

Finally, the horizon to the south is obstructed by the cliffs of the Meuse, running from Lérrouville toward Toul, and whence the long-range batteries on the emplacements at Forts Lérrouville and Gironville command the entire sector.

Hence this sector is exceptionally favorable for the trying out of soldiers, because no serious attack against it seems possible in existing conditions.

Here our allies will be able to learn their lessons of experience through their limited daily actions, which are the elements of which the greater are made; they will be able, in this rude school, to put through their successive contingents, and thus, under the very best conditions, prepare their vast collaboration for the common work.

Ever since the American forces in France went into the trenches for training there were indications that part if not all of the Lorraine section of the line would be taken over by our men. The sentimental and moral value of placing the American forces along the Lorraine front is great in the minds of the French people on account of the national aspiration of the French for the recovery of the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. There were also good military reasons why the American forces should be stationed along the Lorraine front, which, until they were placed in their stations there, was described as "a quiet sector of the front." This section of the

French line is the one nearest to Germany, and it was here that Americans were sent for training in October, 1917. [A map of this region is shown on Page 411.]

During the last month the Americans and the Germans engaged in a series of trench raids and skirmishes, with incidental sniping and artillery fire. The German official report of one of these minor affairs gave a further clue to the location of the American troops. It states that some American prisoners were captured north of Xivry, ten miles east of St. Mihiel. In this preliminary warfare the Americans suffered a certain number of casualties, but those reported killed or wounded in actions up to the time when this record closed was under twenty, with ten or twelve reported captured.

The most interesting engagement of the American troops in the period under review was reported Feb. 14. In the region east of Rheims in the Champagne the French troops broke into the German lines between Tahure and the Butte de Mesnil on a front of a mile and to the depth of two-thirds of a mile, and captured 160 prisoners. The American artillery participated in the preparatory bombardment and in the ensuing barrage fire while the operation was being executed, furnishing "very effective support," according to the French official bulletin.

On Feb. 15 it was reported that the Germans were bombarding the American lines with gas shells, making necessary the wearing of gas masks in all the trenches for three hours. So excellent was the anti-gas training of the men that not a case of gas poisoning was reported.

Although progress was steady in making the American Army abroad an efficient fighting force, General Pershing expressed himself dissatisfied in several important respects. Extracts from his reports, published in Washington Feb. 2, contained strong recommendations that Generals, Colonels, and other line officers of high rank be held directly responsible for the training of the officers under them. General Pershing also criticised the lack of military knowledge on several vital points displayed by such officers, presumably of the regular army, on their arrival in France. He said that there was an "almost total failure to give instructions in principles of minor tactics and their practical application to war conditions." He added: "Officers from Colonels down, and including some general officers, are found ignorant of the handling of units in open warfare, including principles of reconnoissance, outpost, advance guard, solution of practical problems, and formation of attack. No training whatever has been given in musketry efficiency as distinguished from individual target practice on the range."

The former German steamships taken over at American ports when war was declared, though they had been disabled by the Germans, were entirely restored by American engineers. It was announced on Jan. 29 that these vessels had an approximate total tonnage of 600,000 and were conveying men and supplies to France. Among these vessels were the *Leviathan*, formerly the *Vaterland*, of 54,000 tonnage, and fifteen others of the largest of the seized ships. It was stated that the *Leviathan* carried 10,000 troops on her first voyage.

President Wilson to the Farmers

President Wilson, in an address to the Farmers' Conference, which met at Urbana, Ill., on Jan. 31, 1918, said:

YOU will not need to be convinced that it was necessary for us as a free people to take part in this war. It had raised

its evil hand against us. The rulers of Germany had sought to exercise their power in such a way as to shut off our economic life so far as our intercourse with Europe was concerned, and to confine our people within the Western Hemisphere, while they accomplished pur-

poses which would have permanently impaired and impeded every process of our national life and have put the fortunes of America at the mercy of the Imperial Government of Germany.

This was no threat. It had become a reality. Their hand of violence had been laid upon our own people and our own property in flagrant violation not only of justice but of the well-recognized and long-standing covenants of international law and treaty. We are fighting, therefore, as truly for the liberty and self-government of the United States as if the war of our own Revolution had to be fought over again, and every man in every business in the United States must know by this time that his whole future fortune lies in the balance. Our national life and our whole economic development will pass under the sinister influences of foreign control if we do not win. We must win, therefore, and we shall win. I need not ask you to pledge your lives and fortunes with those of the rest of the nation to the accomplishment of the great end.

You will realize, as I think statesmen on both sides of the water realize, that the culminating crisis of the struggle has come and that the achievements of this year on the one side or the other must determine the issue. It has turned out that the forces that fight for freedom, the freedom of men all over the world as well as our own, depend upon us in an extraordinary and unexpected degree for sustenance, for the supply of the materials by which men are to live and to fight, and it will be our glory when the war is over that we have supplied these materials, and supplied them abundantly, and it will be all the more glory because in supplying them we have made our supreme effort and sacrifice. * * *

The banking legislation of the last two or three years has given the farmers access to the great lendable capital of the country, and it has become the duty both of the men in charge of the Federal Reserve banking system and of the Farm Loan banking system to see to it that the farmers obtain the credit, both short term and long term, to which they are entitled, not only, but which it is imperatively

necessary should be extended to them if the present tasks of the country are to be adequately performed.

Both by direct purchase of nitrates and by the establishment of plants to produce nitrates, the Government is doing its utmost to assist in the problem of fertilization. The Department of Agriculture and other agencies are actively assisting the farmers to locate, safeguard, and secure at cost an adequate supply of sound seed. The department has \$2,500,000 available for this purpose now, and has asked the Congress for \$6,000,000 more.

The labor problem is one of great difficulty, and some of the best agencies of the nation are addressing themselves to the task of solving it, so far as it is possible to solve it. Farmers have not been exempted from the draft. I know that they would not wish to be. I take it for granted they would not wish to be put in a class by themselves in this respect. But the attention of the War Department has been very seriously centred upon the task of interfering with the labor of the farms as little as possible, and under the new draft regulations I believe that the farmers of the country will find that their supply of labor is very much less seriously drawn upon than it was under the first and initial draft, made before we had had our present full experience in these perplexing matters. The supply of labor in all industries is a matter we are looking to with diligent care. * * *

You remember that it was farmers from whom came the first shots at Lexington that set aflame the Revolution that made America free. I hope and believe that the farmers of America will willingly and conspicuously stand by to win this war also. The toil, the intelligence, the energy, the foresight, the self-sacrifice and devotion of the farmers of America will, I believe, bring to a triumphant conclusion this great last war for the emancipation of men from the control of arbitrary government and the selfishness of class legislation and control, and then, when the end has come, we may look each other in the face and be glad that we are Americans and have had the privilege to play such a part.

The Ukraine and Its Separate Peace

Rise of the New Russian State, Its War With the Bolsheviks, and Its Peace Treaty With Germany

THE Ukrainian People's Republic, a new State carved out of the southwestern corner of the old Russian Empire, signed a treaty of peace with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk on Feb. 9, 1918. It was the first national unit to take that step. The next day the representatives of the Bolshevik Government of Petrograd formally withdrew from the war without signing a treaty, and the armies of the whole Russian front were ordered demobilized. The doors were thrown open for the rich products of Ukraina to enter Austria and Germany, nullifying the Atlantic blockade to that extent. The remaining German forces on the eastern front were released for use against the Allies in France. The war had entered upon a new phase.

Long before the war the Ukrainian movement had been fomented by Austria through the Austro-German "Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine." After the Czar's fall the movement gained new impetus, ostensibly distinct from enemy influence, but constantly suspected by the Provisional Government. The Rada, or Parliament, established at Kiev, was created by the leaders of the secret Austrian Bund, and the peace so easily negotiated was to some extent at least a product of German money and intrigue. The Rada's pro-Teutonic character was one (minor) cause of its conflict with the Bolshevik leaders, which has eventuated in civil war.

The British Government announced that it would not recognize the Ukrainian Treaty. Up to Feb. 15 none of the nations except the Central Powers had taken any formal notice of the new treaty, or announced a recognition of the new State. In consequence of the ceding of the territory of Kholm in Poland to Ukraina by Austria-Hungary, the Polish Ministry resigned, and it was announced that there was much dissatisfaction among Galician-Polish leaders.

The Ukrainian movement on its purely Russian side is partly a national, partly a land question, and herein lies the main cause of its clash with the Lenine-Trotsky régime. The Great Russians are mainly interested in getting and keeping the farm lands, while the Ukrainians stand for the recognition of their separate nationality and insist that the "self-determination of peoples" must be as fully applied to them as to any other nationality in Europe. They demand home rule, though they desire that their State shall be part of a Federal Russian Republic. The explanation of recent events in the Ukraine is to be found in the struggle between these opposing points of view.

AGREEMENT WITH KERENSKY

Even under the Provisional Government there was increasing friction between Petrograd and the Rada at Kiev. On July 14 the Provisional Government, on the advice of Kerensky, Terestchenko, and Tseretelli, came to terms with the Rada, agreeing that the General Secretariat was to be recognized as the highest administrative power in the Ukraine, but that the future Constitution of the Ukraine was to be decided by the Constituent Assembly. The powers of the General Secretariat were extended over Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia, Poltava, and Tchernigov, (except in four districts.)

This agreement led to the resignation of the Cadet members of the Provisional Government, and was the immediate cause of the riots in Petrograd which began on July 16. On the 22d Kerensky became Prime Minister with a coalition Cabinet. On Aug. 8 a group of delegates from the Ukraine arrived in Petrograd to discuss points of difference that were still acute, but they were put off with dilatory tactics and returned home planning further opposition. One of their first moves was a change of tactics. They announced that they had cut loose entirely from the Austro-German "Bund

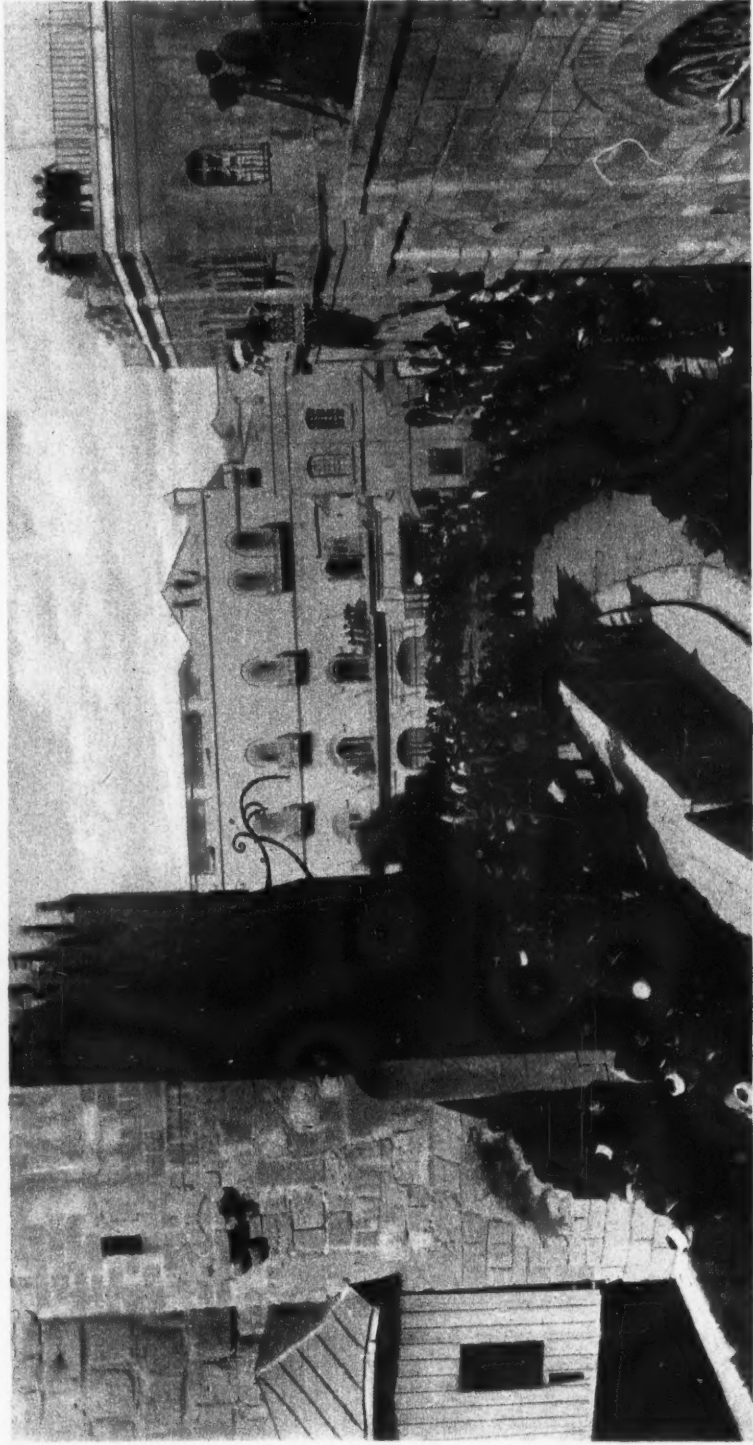
GENERAL ALLENBY ENTERING JERUSALEM



The Commander in Chief of the Palestine expeditionary force entered the Holy City Dec. 11, 1917. He went in by the Jaffa Gate on foot, accompanied by the commanders of the French and Italian detachments.

(British Official Photograph from Underwood & Underwood.)

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF JERUSALEM, DEC. 11, 1917



The historic scene when the proclamation of martial law was read in Arabic, Hebrew, English, French, Italian, Greek, and Russian outside the Tower of David.

(British Official Photograph from Underwood & Underwood.)



THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC IS SHOWN IN THE SHADED PORTION, WITH A DARKER SHADING TO INDICATE THE CORNER OF POLAND TRANSFERRED TO THE NEW STATE

zur Befreiung der Ukraine," and on Aug. 24 all the party leaders denounced the German attempts to sow discord between Russia and Ukrainia. Kovalevsky, leader of the Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries; Vinnitchenko, President of the General Secretariat and leader of Social Democrats, with Professor Hrushevsky, President of the Rada, all issued official statements intended to clear themselves of charges of complicity with the Germans.

CONFLICT WITH BOLSHEVIKI

A new period in the history of the Ukraine opened with the Bolshevik coup d'état at Petrograd, Nov. 7, 1917. The conflict between the two movements was at once intensified. As explained by a writer in *The New Europe*, the General Secretariat at Kiev is a Socialist coalition, though the Bolsheviks have de-

nounced it as a bourgeois Government. The Bolshevik opposition to it is due chiefly to its nationalism as opposed to the internationalism of Lenine. The Bolsheviks care nothing for constitutional reforms; they are willing to grant complete self-determination to the Ukrainians without a thought for the interests of Russia as a State; what they are not willing to abandon is their campaign for social revolution in the Ukraine. Hence their war on the Kiev Government.

The Rada soon felt itself threatened on two sides. On the one hand Shulgin and other Russian nationalists in Kiev had been in close touch with the Cossack troops, urging them to suppress the Rada as being in revolt against the Kerensky Government; on the other, the Bolsheviks were trying to spread their

subversive doctrines throughout the Ukraine as well as in Northern and Central Russia. The Russian nationalist opposition was soon swept away. Cossack regiments and a body of Czechoslovak volunteers, who had been moved to Kiev to support the Provisional Government against the Bolsheviks, refused to fight and offered to leave Kiev when they learned it was against the Rada that they were being used. The danger from the Bolsheviks was more real. On Nov. 10 the General Secretariat published an appeal to the people to remain calm, promising that it would do everything possible to suppress any Bolshevik movement in Kiev. But the spirit of unrest had spread to Kiev, and for two days there was a general strike, none of the bourgeois papers being permitted to appear. The Rada, however, with the support of the Social Democrat Party, which issued an appeal to the workmen, soon mastered the situation, and on Nov. 20 issued its "Universal," or general, proclamation, transferring the land to the peasants, establishing an eight-hour day and labor control over industry, and fixing the frontiers of the Ukrainian National Republic in federation with the Russian Republic.

TEXT OF THE "UNIVERSAL"

This general proclamation of the Ukrainian National Council of Nov. 20, 1917, is a document of historical importance, as it is the foundation on which the new State is intended to rest. Though it was extended as far as possible in the direction of Bolshevism for the sake of peace with Petrograd, it also to some extent represents bourgeois and Cossack aspirations. The text of the proclamation, as translated from the Nova Rada of Nov. 21, is as follows:

Ukrainian people and all peoples of the Ukraine! An hour of trials and difficulties has come for the land of the Russian Republic. In the north in the capitals (Petrograd and Moscow) a bloody internecine struggle is in progress. A Central Government no longer exists, and anarchy, disorder, and ruin are spreading throughout the State.

Our country also is in danger. Without a strong, united, and popular Government, Ukraina also may fall into the

abyss of civil war, slaughter, and destruction.

People of Ukraina, you, together with the brother peoples of Ukraina, have intrusted us with the task of protecting rights won by struggle, of creating order and of building up a new life in our land. And we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, by your will, for the sake of creating order in our country and for the sake of saving the whole of Russia, announce that henceforth Ukraina becomes the Ukrainian National Republic. Without separating from the Russian Republic, and preserving its unity, we take up our stand firmly on our lands that with our strength we may help the whole of Russia, and that the whole Russian Republic may become a federation of free and equal peoples.

Until the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly meets, the whole power of creating order in our lands, of issuing laws, and of ruling, belongs to us, the Ukrainian Central Rada, and to our Government—the General Secretariat of Ukraina.

Having strength and power in our native land, we shall defend the rights of the revolution, not only in our own lands, but in all Russia as well.

Therefore we announce: To the territory of the National Ukrainian Republic belong the lands where the majority of the population is Ukrainian: Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia, Tchernigov, Poltava, Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Kherson, Tauris, (without the Crimea.) The further delimitation of the frontiers of the Ukrainian National Republic, viz., the addition of part of Kursk, Kholm, Voronez, and the neighboring provinces and districts, where the majority of the population is Ukrainian, is to be settled according to the organized wishes of the peoples.

To all the citizens of these lands we announce: Henceforth in the territory of the Ukrainian National Republic *the existing rights of ownership* to the lands of large proprietors and other lands not worked by the owners which are fit for farming, and also to lands belonging to the royal family, to monasteries, to the Crown and to the Church, *are abolished*. Recognizing that these lands are the property of the whole working people, and must pass to the people without compensation, the Ukrainian Central Rada instructs the General Secretary for Land Questions to work out immediately a law for the administration of these lands by Land Committees, chosen by the people, until the meeting of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly.

The labor question in the Ukrainian National Republic must immediately be regulated. For the present we announce: In the territory of the National Ukrainian Republic henceforth *an eight hours' day* is ordained in the factories and workshops.

The hour of trial and danger which all Russia and our Ukraina is now experiencing necessitates the proper regulation of labor, and a fair distribution of food supplies and a better organization of work. Therefore, we instruct the General Secretary for Labor, together with representatives of labor, to establish from today State control over production in Ukraina, respecting the interests both of Ukraina and also the whole of Russia. For four years on the front blood has been shed, and the strength of all the peoples of the world has been wasting away. By the wishes and in the name of the Ukrainian Republic we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, firmly insist on the establishment of *peace as soon as possible*. For this end we make resolute efforts to compel, through the Central Government, both allies and enemies to enter immediately upon peace negotiations.

Likewise we shall insist that at the Peace Congress the rights of the Ukrainian people in Russia and outside Russia shall not be infringed in the treaty of peace. But until peace comes, every citizen of the Republic of Ukraina, together with the citizens of all the peoples of the Russian Republic, must stand firmly in their positions both at the front and in the rear.

Recently the shining conquests of the revolution have been clouded by the re-establishment of the death penalty. We announce: Henceforth in the lands of the Republic of Ukraina *the death penalty is abolished*. To all who are imprisoned and arrested for political offenses hitherto committed, as well as those already condemned or awaiting sentence, and also those who have not yet been tried, full amnesty is given. A law will immediately be passed to this effect.

The courts in Ukraina must be just and in accordance with the spirit of the people.

With this aim we order the General Secretary for Judicial Affairs to make every attempt to establish justice and to execute it according to rules understood by the people.

We instruct the General Secretary for Internal Affairs as follows: To make every effort to strengthen and extend the rights of local self-government, which shall be the organs of the highest local administrative authority, and until the establishment of the closest connection with the organs of revolutionary democracy, which are to be the best foundation of a free democratic life. Also in the Ukrainian National Republic *all the liberties won by the Russian revolution are to be guaranteed, namely, freedom of the press, of speech, of religion, of assembly, of union, of strikes, of inviolability of person and of habitation,*

the right and the possibility of using local dialects in dealing with all authorities.

The Ukrainian people, which has fought for many years for its national freedom and now has won it, will firmly protect the freedom of national development of all nationalities existing in Ukraina. Therefore, we announce that to the Great Russian, Jewish, Polish, and other peoples of Ukraina we recognize national personal autonomy for the security of their rights and freedom of self-government in questions of their national life, and we instruct our General Secretary for Nationality Questions to draw up in the near future a measure for national personal autonomy.

The food question is the foundation of the power of the State at this difficult and responsible moment. The Ukrainian National Republic must make every effort to save itself both at the front and in those parts of the Russian Republic which need our help.

Citizens! In the name of the National Ukrainian Republic in federal Russia, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, *call upon all to struggle resolutely with all forms of anarchy and disorder*, and to help in the great work of building up new State forms, which will give the great and powerful Russian Republic health, strength, and a new future. The working out of these forms must be carried out at the Ukrainian and all-Russian Constituent Assemblies.

The date for the election of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly is fixed for 9 January, 1918, and the date for its summoning 22 January, 1918.

A law will be immediately published regulating the summoning of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly.

TERRITORIAL CLAIMS

The Ukraine lays claim territorially not only to Southwestern Russia, but also to large portions of East Galicia, Northeastern Hungary, and Bukowina, all inhabited by Ruthenians—another name for Ukrainians—and the present movement is said to be alive in these Austro-Hungarian provinces. This is due to the policy of the Austrian Government before the war, which favored the Ukrainians of East Galicia in proportion as the old Russian Government persecuted them. The result was that Lemberg became the intellectual centre of the Ukrainians, where refugees from Kiev found a ready welcome.

The four original Ukrainian provinces of Tchernigov, Kiev, Poltava, and Khar-

kov have an area of 80,000 square miles, and a population of 25,000,000. But the new Ukrainian Republic claims additional areas, namely, Volhynia, Podolia, Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, and parts of Voronezh and Kursk—besides the portion of Poland annexed by the treaty with the Central Powers—which would increase the territory of the republic to about 195,000 square miles, with a population of about 45,000,000.

If the Ukrainians succeed in having their nationality recognized beyond Russia, it will have a meaning for about 4,000,000 Ruthenians, now subjects of Emperor Charles. As it is, numbering in Russia at least 25,000,000, they claim governing rights from Kiev to Odessa, from Odessa to Rostov, and from Rostov to Kharkov, with all the functions of an independent State.

BOLSHEVIST ULTIMATUM

The Ukrainian Rada and the Don Cossacks developed increasing resistance to Lenine and Trotzky, and during the last weeks of 1917 the clashes between the two movements developed into civil war. On Dec. 17 the Bolshevik Government delivered an ultimatum to the Rada, presenting a formal demand that it break with the so-called counter-revolution and with Kaledine and his Don Cossacks. Here is the text of the ultimatum:

The Russian Socialist Government, by the voice of the Soviet of the people's commissaries, once more confirms the independent national rights of all the nationalities that were oppressed by the Czarist-Great Russian bourgeoisie, even to the point of recognizing the right of these nationalities to separate themselves from Russia. Consequently, we, the Soviet of the commissaries of the people, recognize the right of the Ukrainian People's Republic to separate itself entirely from Russia and to enter into pourparlers with the Russian Republic on the subject of the determination of federal or other mutual relations to be established between the two republics.

All that concerns the national rights and the independence of the Ukraine we, the commissaries of the people, freely recognize without any limits or conditions.

As regards the bourgeois Republic of Finland, which is still bourgeois, we will not make a gesture toward restricting its national rights or toward interfering with the independence of the Finnish people.

We will not make a movement against the national independence of any people belonging to the Russian Federation.

Nevertheless, we accuse the Rada of Ukraine of the fact that, under cover of phrases and declarations regarding national independence, it has given itself over to a systematic bourgeois policy, under which neither the Rada nor the Soviets of Ukraina are willing to recognize the action of our Soviet over their country. Among other things, the Rada has refused to call immediately the Soviets of Ukraina in a general assembly, as they demand.

This double-faced policy, which deprives us of the possibility of recognizing the Rada as authorized representative of the laboring masses, (exploited as they are by the Ukrainian Republic,) has latterly reached a point where it has practically annihilated every possibility of accord with us. This attitude in the beginning disorganized the front. Through its manifestos addressed to the Ukrainian troops at the front the Rada destroyed its unity and provoked division at a time when unity was possible only by following the path of systematic accord between the Governments of the two republics. In the second place, the Rada has been guilty of dispersing the troops in the Ukraine that were faithful to the Soviets.

In the third place, the Rada is lending assistance to the plots of Kaledine by taking its stand against the influence of the Soviets and by meddling effectively with the autonomous rights of the Don and Kuban Provinces. By sheltering the counter-revolutionary movement of Kaledine, and by running counter to the will of the great mass of Cossack workmen in allowing the armies favorable to Kaledine to pass through the Ukraine, and at the same time refusing such passage to the armies hostile to that General, the Rada is opening the way to an unheard-of treason against the revolution.

By supporting the worst enemies of the national independence of the peoples of Russia—the Cadets and the partisans of Kaledine—the Rada may oblige us to declare war upon it; and this we would do without any hesitation, even if that institution were formally recognized as representing incontestably the entire population of the independent and bourgeois Republic of the Ukraine.

For the reasons given, the Council of The People's Commissaries, calling to witness the Ukrainian People's Republic, submits to the Rada the following questions:

1. Does the Rada promise to renounce in future all action for the disorganization of the common front?
2. Does the Rada promise to refuse in future to permit the passage over Ukrainian territory of any troops going

into the region of the Don, the Urals, or elsewhere, and never to permit such passage without first having obtained the authorization of the Generalissimo?

3. Does the Rada promise to lend assistance to the armies of the revolution in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces of the Cadets and of Kaledine?

4. Does the Rada promise to put an end to the attempts to crush the armies of the Soviet and of the Red Guard in the Ukraine, and return their arms, immediately and without delay, to those from whom they have been taken?

In case a satisfactory reply has not been received within twenty-four hours, the Soviet of the People's Commissaries will consider the Rada in a state of war with the influence of the Soviet in Russia and in the Ukraine.

THE SOVIET OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIES.

The President of the Soviet,
ULIANOV LENINE.

The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs,
TROTSKY.

CIVIL WAR BEGUN

The Ukrainian Rada at Kiev ignored this ultimatum, and civil war between the two republics was formally begun on Dec. 18. The immediate situation, however, was not greatly changed, as actual hostilities had already been in progress for several weeks. The document of Lenine and Trotsky was only a public announcement of the reasons for the conflict. The real cause may be found in the events in the Crimea and in Odessa.

The Province of Kherson, of which the great wheat exporting city of Odessa is a part, had been incorporated in the Ukrainian Republic, along with four other provinces of South Russia, by a decree of the Rada at Kiev dated Nov. 16, 1917. The Rada had taken over all the powers of the Provisional Government in these provinces at the time that these powers were supposed to pass into the hands of Lenine's commissaries. General Povlavko was then sent to Odessa by the Rada for the purpose of taking over the succession from the Commissary of the Provisional Government, M. Kharita. But the latter refused to give up his powers, and he was supported by the majority of the population of Odessa, who were resolutely hostile to the Ukrainization of the great port. The arrival of Ukrainian battalions, sent by the

Rada to make its decisions respected, provoked bloody street riots. While the partisans of the Provisional Government observed neutrality, the local Bolsheviks armed the Red Guard of Odessa and gave battle to the Ukrainians and their followers, the National Socialists.

At the end of the first week of December an agreement was entered into by the Ukrainians and the Cossacks, both being supporters of the federalist plan and hostile to the Bolsheviks. By the terms of this entente the Cossacks undertook to evacuate Kiev and to transport all their forces to Nevatsherkask, at the same time leaving the Ukrainians with a free hand at Odessa. In exchange the Ukrainians had undertaken to oppose the passage of troops sent against the Cossacks, who were about to create a federal republic of their own.

While Petrograd's declaration of war thus tended to separate the Ukraine entirely from Russia and to create an alliance between the Cossacks and Ukrainians, the existence of Bolshevik elements in the population of both southern States complicated the situation and caused local fighting and anarchy in all the larger cities. The Lenine-Trotsky Government at once sent 6,000 Red Guards from Petrograd to fight the Ukrainians, and on Dec. 25 it was reported that a battle had taken place eighty miles from Kharkov, with a total of 700 casualties in three days' fighting. The Rada ordered the stopping of all shipments of supplies to the regions controlled by the Bolsheviks, and issued a proclamation to the armies on all fronts charging the Petrograd Government with criminal acts and the ruining of Russia's armies.

TARTARS OF THE CRIMEA

In the last days of December the Mohammedan Tartars of the Crimea held a congress in the City of Bashtshissarai and passed a solemn resolution establishing an autonomous "khanate" covering the whole peninsula. A proclamation similar to that of the Ukraine was published. The next day, after taking possession of the palace of the Khan, a great national Tartar feast was organized in the city, in the course of which a delegate from the Ukrainian People's Repub-

lic delivered an address recognizing the Tartars as the sovereign people of the Peninsula of the Crimea.

The Council of the People's Commissaries at Petrograd tried on Jan. 3, 1918, to enter into fresh negotiations with the Rada, sending a formal document signed by Gubunov, the Secretary, suggesting pourparlers at Smolensk or Vitebsk; but, like the ultimatum, this was ignored. This extension of the olive branch, however, accounts for the action of Trotzky in recognizing and admitting the Ukrainian delegates at Brest-Litovsk a week later. Meanwhile on Jan. 9 France, still unaware of the true situation, recognized the new Ukrainian Republic by commissioning General Tabouy, chief of the French mission to the former southwestern front, to act as its representative at Kiev.

AT BREST-LITOVSK

The Ukrainian People's Republic sent a delegation to the second session of the Brest-Litovsk peace conference. The head of the delegation, M. Gobulovitch, read a formal declaration on Jan. 10, signed by Vinnitchenko and Shulgin, notifying the conference of the proclamation of Nov. 20 and pointing out that the armistice had been entered into without previous agreement of the Ukraine. On the question of peace the declaration contained these points:

1. The entire democracy of the Ukrainian State is striving for the termination of the war, for peace throughout the entire world, and a general peace between all the belligerent States.
2. The peace which is to be concluded between all the powers must be democratic and must assure to every people, even the smallest, full and unlimited national self-determination.
3. In order to render possible the real expression of the people's will, proper guarantees must be given.
4. Any annexation that means annexation by force or the surrender of any portion of territory without the consent of its population is therefore inadmissible.
5. Any war indemnities, without regard to the form given them, are from the standpoint of the interests of the working classes also inadmissible.
6. In conformity with regulations to be drawn up at the peace congresses, material assistance must be given to small nations and States which in consequence of

the war have suffered considerable losses or devastations.

7. The Ukrainian Republic, which at present occupies the Ukrainian front on its own territory and is represented in all international affairs by its Government, whose duty is the protection of the Ukrainian people's interests and which acts independently, must, like other powers, be allowed to participate in all peace negotiations, conferences, and congresses.

8. The power of the (Petrograd) Council of Commissioners does not extend to the whole of Russia, and therefore not to the Ukrainian Republic. Any eventual peace resulting from negotiations with the powers waging war against Russia can therefore be binding for the Ukraine only if the terms of this peace are accepted and signed by the Government of the Ukraine Republic.

9. In the name of all Russia only such a Government (and it must be an exclusively Federal Government) can conclude peace as would be recognized by all the republics and regions of Russia possessing a State organism. If, however, such a Government cannot be formed in the near future, then this peace can only be concluded by the united representatives of those republics and regions.

Firmly adhering to the principle of a democratic peace, the Secretariat General is also striving for the speediest possible attainment of this general peace, and attaches great weight to all attempts which can bring its realization nearer. The Secretariat therefore considers it imperative to have its representatives at the conference, while at the same time it hopes that a final solution of the peace question will be reached at an international congress to which the Government of the Ukrainian Republic invites all the belligerents to send delegates.

VINNITCHENKO,

President of the Secretariat.

SHULGIN,

Secretary for International Affairs.

WELCOMED BY GERMANS

Herr von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Secretary, moved that the Ukrainian note be placed on the records of the congress as an important historical document, and extended the welcome of the Central Powers to the Ukrainian delegation. He added that hitherto the Petrograd delegation had been assumed to be acting for the whole of Russia; he therefore had to ask the Petrograd representatives what was their attitude on the subject. M. Trotzky replied that in view of his party's principles the Petrograd delegation saw no obstacle to the

participation of the Ukrainian delegation in the peace negotiations. M. Gorbulovitch then said he assumed it was settled that the Ukrainian and Russian delegations would form two separate and independent delegations of the same party.

At that time the talk at Brest-Litovsk was still ostensibly of a general peace. Later, when it frankly took the form of a separate peace, Trotzky refused to recognize the Ukrainians, and the latter proceeded to enter into secret negotiations of their own. At a private conference on Jan. 16 a settlement "in principle," according to the German account of the proceedings, was reached of "questions concerning the future political relations between the Central Powers and the Ukraine."

On Jan. 25 the Ukrainian Rada sent word to Petrograd that if the Russian Government did not make peace with Ukraine within twenty-four hours Ukraine would make a separate peace with Germany. By that time the Bolsheviks had organized a rival Rada at Kharkov, and this had sent a delegation to Brest-Litovsk, which Trotzky tried to substitute for the original "bourgeois" delegation from Kiev. The Germans, however, completed their dealings with the representatives of Vinnitchenko and Shulgin, and later signed a separate peace with them.

The Bolsheviks were reported to have captured Odessa on Jan. 26, and Orenburg, capital of the Government of Orenburg, on Jan. 31. Meanwhile, Kishinev, the capital of Bessarabia, was taken on Jan. 27 by the Rumanian troops, which had begun acting in support of the Ukraine. Petrograd at once sent the Rumanian Legation out of Russia by the shortest route and outlawed General Sterbachev, commander of the Russian forces in Rumania, as an enemy of the people. He was supposed to be working with the Ukrainians and Rumanians against the Bolsheviks and to have frustrated the attempt to arrest the Rumanian royal family at Jassy.

There was a temporary break in the German negotiations on Feb. 3, but on the 5th Dr. von Kühlmann and Count

Czernin left Berlin again for Brest-Litovsk with the published purpose of concluding a separate peace with the Ukraine. Peace between the Central Powers and the Ukraine was signed in the early morning of Feb. 9, 1918. The German official account of the event states that after the long preliminaries of drafting their treaty Dr. von Kühlmann, as President of the conference, opened the final session shortly before 2 o'clock in the morning with this speech:

Gentlemen, none of you will be able to close his eyes to the historical significance of this hour at which the representatives of the four allied powers are met with the representatives of the Ukrainian People's Republic to sign the first peace attained in this world war. This peace, signed with your young State, which has emerged from the storms of the great war, gives special satisfaction to the representatives of the allied delegation. May this peace be the first of a series of blessed conclusions; peace blessed both for the allied powers and for the Ukrainian People's Republic, for the future of which we all cherish the best wishes.

The President of the Ukrainian delegation replied:

We state with joy that from this day peace begins between the Quadruple Alliance and Ukraine. We came here in the hope that we should be able to achieve a general peace and make an end of this fratricidal war. The political position, however, is such that not all of the powers are met here to sign a general peace treaty. Inspired with the most ardent love for our people, and recognizing that this long war has exhausted the cultural national powers of our people, we must now divert all our strength to do our part to bring about a new era and a new birth. We are firmly persuaded that we conclude this peace in the interests of great democratic masses, and that this peace will contribute to the general termination of the great war.

The Berlin account adds that Dr. von Kühlmann then invited the representatives to sign the treaty. At 1:59 he himself, as first signatory, signed a copy of the treaty prepared for Germany, and by 2:30 all the signatures had appeared.

UKRAINE'S RESOURCES

The treaty of Brest-Litovsk removes all tariff barriers between the Central Powers and the Ukraine, thus making the new republic practically a part of

Austria-Hungary so far as commercial relations are concerned.

Of what immense value the Ukraine, the greatest granary of Europe, is for the Central Empires, in these days, when their supplies are running low, may be judged from the following compilations made in Vienna in 1914:

The annual production of the Ukraine in wheat, rye, and barley alone, in spite of very primitive methods of exploitation, amounts to 150,000,000 quintals (one quintal equals 220.46 pounds) annually, or one-third of Russia's output. Other farm products are just as abundant. The sugar beet production of the Ukraine is five-sixths that of all Russia. Of tobacco the Ukraine produces over 700,000 quintals a year. It possesses the largest and finest orchards and vineyards of Russia. As to stock raising, the Ukraine has 30,000,000 head of cattle, one-third of all European Russia's; sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry are very numerous; in fact, in this matter the Ukraine has 50 per cent. of Russia's supply.

Iron, chiefly in the Government of

Kherson, in the year of revolution, 1905, was turned out to the amount of 31,000,000 quintals, or 60 per cent. of the total output of the entire Russian Empire; in 1915 this percentage was over 69. Of manganese, the Ukraine furnishes one-sixth of the world's production, or 32 per cent. of Russia's production. No mercury is produced in Russia except in the Ukraine, (320,000 kilograms in 1905.) The coal deposits on the Donetz (23,000 square kilometers) produced 130,000,000 quintals of hard coal in 1905, or 75 per cent. of the total production of European and Asiatic Russia; of anthracite coal, 90 per cent. of Russia's output is from the Ukraine.

Referring to the economic agreements contained in the treaty, the Austrian papers indicate that, while exaggerated hopes are not justified, it may be expected that of a two years' harvest, at the least, which could not be exported from Ukrainia, there are still considerable stocks, and that about one million tons will be available. In this connection, however, the papers point out the difficulties of transport.

Manifesto of the Austrian Emperor

Emperor Charles of Austria-Hungary on Feb. 14, 1918, issued the following manifesto regarding the peace with the Ukraine:

To My Peoples: Thanks to God's gracious aid, we have concluded peace with Ukrainia. Our victorious arms and the sincere peace policy which we pursued with indefatigable perseverance have shown the first fruit of a defensive war waged for our preservation.

In common with my hard-trying peoples, I trust that after the first conclusion of peace, which is so gratifying an event for us, a general peace will soon be granted suffering humanity.

Under the impression of this peace with Ukrainia, our glance turns with full sympathy to that aspiring young people in whose heart first among our opponents the feeling of neighborly love has become operative, and which, after bravery exhibited in numerous battles, also possessed sufficient resoluteness to give expression by deed before the whole world to its better conviction.

It thus has been the first to leave the camp of our enemies in order, in the interest of the speediest possible attainment of a new and great common aim, to unite its efforts with our strength.

Having from the first moment I mounted the throne of my exalted forefathers felt myself one with my peoples in the rocklike resolve to fight out the struggle forced upon us until an honorable peace was reached, I feel myself so much the more one with them in this hour in which the first step has now been taken for the realization of this aim. With admiration for and affectionate recognition of the almost superhuman endurance and incomparable self-sacrifice of my heroic troops, as well as of those at home who daily show no less self-sacrifice, I look forward with full confidence to the near and happier future.

May the Almighty bless us further with strength and endurance, that, not only for ourselves and our faithful allies, but also for entire humanity, we may attain a final peace!

The Ukrainian Peace Treaty

Official Summary of Its Terms

GERMAN official dispatches state that the treaty signed on Feb. 9, 1918, is entitled "A Treaty of Peace Between Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey on One Part, and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the Other." The preamble states that the Ukrainian people, having in the course of the present world war declared itself to be independent and expressed a wish to restore peace between itself and the powers at war, desires "to take the first step toward a lasting world's peace, honorable to all parties, which shall not only put an end to the horrors of war, but also lead to the restoration of friendly relations of the peoples in political, legal, economic, and intellectual realms."

The names of all the plenipotentiaries engaged in the negotiations are then set forth, and they are declared to have reached an agreement on the following points:

Article I.—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey on the one hand and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other declare that the state of war between them is at an end. The contracting parties are resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship with one another.

Article II.—Between Austria-Hungary on the one hand and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other hand, as far as these two powers border one another, those frontiers will exist which existed before the outbreak of the present war between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Russia. Further north the frontier of the republic beginning at Tarnegrad will in general follow the line of Bilgeray to Srozeberzszyn, Krasnostau, Pugaszce, Radzyn, Meshiretschel, Sarnaki, Selnik, Wysekelitowsk, Kamiet-slitowsk, Prushany, and Wydozowsky-see. This will be fixed in detail by a mixed commission according to ethnographical conditions and with a regard to the desires of the population. Should the Ukrainian People's Republic yet have common frontiers with another of the powers of the Quadruple Alliance, special agreements will be made thereon.

Article III.—The evacuation of occupied territories will begin immediately after the ratification of the present treaty. The manner of carrying out the evacuation and transfer of the territories

will be determined by the plenipotentiaries of the interested parties.

Article IV.—The diplomatic and consular relations between the contracting parties will be entered upon immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty. The widest possible admittance of the respective parties to Consuls is to be reserved for a special agreement.

No War Costs or Indemnities

Article V.—The contracting parties mutually renounce the reimbursement of their war costs—that is to say, the State expenditure for carrying on the war, as well as indemnification for damages—that is to say, those damages suffered by them and their subjects in the war, as through military measures, including all requisitions made in the enemy's countries.

Article VI.—The respective prisoners of war will be permitted to return home, and, as far as they do not desire, with the approval of the State concerned, to remain in its territories or proceed to another country. The regulation of the questions connected herewith will follow by means of separate treaties provided for in Article VIII.

Article VII.—The contracting parties undertake mutually and without delay to enter into economic relations and organize an exchange for goods on the basis of the following prescriptions:

1. Until the 31st day of July of the current year reciprocal exchange of the more important surplus supplies of agricultural and industrial products will be carried out as follows for the purpose of covering current requirements. The quantities and sorts of products to be exchanged will be settled by a joint commission, to sit immediately upon the signature of the peace treaty. Prices will be regulated by the joint commission. Payments will be made in gold on the basis of 1,000 German imperial gold marks as the equivalent of 462 gold rubles of the former Russian Empire, or 1,000 Austro-Hungarian gold kroner as the equivalent of 393 rubles 78 kopeks of the former Russian Empire. The exchange of goods fixed by the joint commission aforementioned, which commission will consist of equal numbers of representatives of both parties, will take place through State central bureaus. The exchange of those products which are not fixed by the aforementioned commission will take place by the way of free trade, according to the stipulation of a provisional commercial treaty.

2. So far as it is not otherwise provided, the economic relations between the

contracting parties shall continue provisionally, and in any case until the conclusion of a final commercial treaty. But until the termination of a period of at least six months after the conclusion of peace between the Central Powers on the one part and the European States at war with the Central Powers, as well as the United States and Japan on the other part, certain prescriptions are laid down as a basis of relations.

As regards economic relations between Germany and Ukraina the text of the treaty prescribes what parts of the Russo-German commercial and shipping treaties of 1894 and 1904 shall be put into force. The contracting parties further agree to maintain the general Russian customs tariff of Jan. 13, 1903.

Imports to be Duty Free

The treaty also provides (Section 3) which parts of the Austro-Hungarian-Russian commercial and shipping treaty of Feb. 5, 1906, shall be maintained, and adds:

"All parties agree that all articles transported across the territory of either party shall be free of duty. Trade-mark agreements are resumed, and the contracting parties agree to support each other in restoring railway tariffs. Economic relations between Bulgaria and Turkey and Ukraina are to be settled according to the most favored nation definition until definite commercial treaties are concluded.

"If the period provided for in the first paragraph of Section 2 should not occur before June 30, 1919, each of the two contracting parties is free from June 30, 1919, to give six months' notice to terminate the prescriptions contained in the above-mentioned section."

4. (a) The Ukrainian People's Republic will make no claim to preferential treatment which Germany grants Austria-Hungary or another country bound to her by a customs alliance, which directly borders on Germany, or indirectly through another country bound to her or Austria-Hungary by a customs alliance, or which Germany grants to her own colonies, foreign possessions, and protectorates, or to countries bound to her by a customs alliance. Germany will make no claim to preferential treatment which the Ukrainian People's Republic may grant to another country bound to her by a customs alliance, which directly borders on Ukraina, or indirectly through another country bound to her by a customs alliance, or to the colonies, foreign possessions, and protectorates of one of the countries bound to her by a customs alliance.

(b) In economic intercourse between the treaty customs territory of both States of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy on

the one hand and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other, the Ukrainian People's Republic will make no claim to preferential treatment, which Austria-Hungary grants to Germany or another country bound to her by a customs alliance which directly borders on Austria-Hungary, or indirectly through another country bound to her or Germany by a customs alliance. Colonies, foreign possessions, and protectorates are in this respect placed on a similar footing. Austria-Hungary will make no claim to preferential treatment which the Ukrainian People's Republic grants to another country bound to her by a customs alliance which directly borders on Ukraina, or indirectly borders through another country bound to her by a customs alliance, or to colonies, foreign possessions, and protectorates of one of the countries bound to her by a customs alliance.

5. (a) So far as commodities which originally came from Germany or Ukraina are stored in neutral States, though the obligation rests upon Germany and Ukraina that they shall not be exported either directly or indirectly to the territories of the other contracting party, such restrictions regarding their disposal shall be abolished so far as the contracting parties are concerned. The two contracting parties, therefore, undertake immediately to notify the Governments of neutral States of the above-mentioned abolition of this restriction.

(b) So far as commodities which originally came from Austria-Hungary or Ukraina are stored in neutral States, although the obligation rests upon Austria-Hungary and Ukraina that they shall neither directly nor indirectly be exported to the territories of the other contracting party, such restriction respecting their disposal will be abolished so far as the contracting parties are concerned. Both contracting parties, therefore, undertake immediately to notify the Governments of neutral States of the above-mentioned abolition of these restrictions.

Question of War Prisoners

Article VIII.—Restoration of public and private legal relations, the exchange of prisoners of war and interned civilians, the question of amnesty and the question of the treatment of merchantmen in enemy hands will be regulated in separate treaties with the Ukrainian People's Republic, to form an essential part of the present peace treaty, which, so far as practicable, will take effect simultaneously therewith.

Article IX.—The agreements made in this peace treaty form an indivisible whole.

Article X.—For the interpretation of this treaty the German and Ukrainian texts are authoritative in regard to rela-

tions between Germany and Ukraina, the German, Hungarian, and Ukrainian texts for relations between Austro-Hungary and Ukraina, the Bulgarian and Ukrainian texts for relations between Bulgaria and Ukraina, the Turkish and Ukrainian texts for relations between Turkey and Ukraina.

The concluding part of the treaty provides:

"The present peace treaty will be ratified. Ratified documents shall be exchanged as soon as possible. So far as there are no provisions to the contrary, the peace treaty shall come into force on ratification."

The supplementary treaties provided for in Article VIII. also were signed. They cover the following points:

Restoration of consular relations.

Restoration of State treaties.

Restoration of civil law.

Indemnification for civil damages caused by laws of war or by acts contrary to international law.

Exchange of war prisoners and interned civilians.

Care of burial grounds of those fallen in enemy territory.

Provision for the return to their homes of persons affected by the treaty.

Treatment of merchant vessels in enemy hands.

The Brest-Litovsk dispatch stated that the text of the supplementary agreements must be withheld for the present to avoid overcrowding the telegraph wires.

The Republic of Finland

Finnish Separatism Since the Revolution

By Abraham Yarmolinsky

ONE of the first acts of the Provisional Government set up by the triumphant Russian revolution was to restore the Constitution of the Grand Duchy of Finland. This Constitution, granted to the Finns by Alexander II. in 1863, was in agreement with the rights and privileges, which Alexander I. solemnly pledged himself and his successors to maintain, for the purpose of giving a political existence to the autonomous grand duchy he had formed from the Swedish province of Finland, annexed in 1809, and the province of Vyborg, conquered by Peter the Great.

Throughout the last century the Russian rulers respected Finland's liberties, and, shielded from external interference, Suomi, the land of lakes and granite cliffs, became the seat of a remarkable national culture, highly progressive and keenly conscious of itself. The last Russian autocrat put an end to this political idyl. Under Nicholas II. the omnipotent bureaucracy opened a ruthless campaign against the ancient Finnish autonomy, a campaign in which the Government was partly supported by the Liberals. In 1899 the Constitution of Finland was suspended and the country put at the mercy of a Governor General whose

brutality was equaled only by his stupidity.

During the upheaval of 1905 the Government restored to the Finns their autonomy, and, furthermore, granted them universal suffrage, including the vote for women. No sooner, however, did reaction set in than the bureaucracy returned to its policy of trampling under foot the Constitution of Finland. The Finns particularly resented the law of 1910, which was clearly intended to serve as a weapon of Russification, and which was the negation of the very essence of Finland's autonomy.

The war did not relieve the situation. On the contrary, it increased the Russificatory zeal of Finland's oppressors to such a degree that many a patriotic Finn was driven by the love for his country to embrace the cause of Russia's enemies.

The restoration manifesto, issued March 21, 1917, abrogated all the laws and imperial edicts contrary to the Finnish Constitution, and amnestied all Finns who were imprisoned or exiled for religious or political offenses. It also declared the intention of the Provisional Government to convoke the Diet with the least possible delay, and to draft a series

of bills enlarging the Finnish Constitution, especially as regards the jurisdiction of the Diet. The document ends thus:

By this act we solemnly confirm to the Finnish people the integrity, based on its Constitution, of its internal independence and the rights of its national culture and languages. We express our firm assurance that Russia and Finland will henceforth be bound by respect for law for the sake of the mutual friendship and prosperity of the two free peoples.

AN UNBRIDGEABLE GULF

It was expected in Petrograd that this manifesto would do away with the animosities and misunderstandings accumulated in the years of persecution, and pave the way for cordiality and good-will between the two countries. This expectation failed to materialize. It soon became clear that the Finns were given to skepticism regarding the Russian promises, and that, not content with the mere restoration of their Constitution, they were ready to change it in the sense of an almost complete separation from Russia. The white-hot enthusiasm of the first months of the revolution did not weld together the Finn and the Russian. Too wide a distance, both ethnically and culturally, divided them, and there were no common historical memories to unite them. Finland loathed its union with Russia and made no pretense of concealing its feelings.

According to the Finnish Constitution, the supreme Governmental authority was vested in the person of the Emperor of Russia, who was also Grand Duke of Finland, and who constituted the link between the two countries. No bill passed by the Diet could become a law without the confirmation of the Emperor-Grand Duke. Since the monarchy no longer existed, the question arose as to who was to inherit the supreme authority in Finland. In the early stage of the Finnish separatist movement the conflict was centred chiefly around this question. The Finnish leaders argued that the grand ducal prerogatives had automatically passed to the Finnish Senate, i e., Cabinet of Ministers. That such a solution of the problem would be little short of secession, the separatists were aware.

In the course of a discussion of this matter, which took place late in April, Senator Oscari Tokoi, the leading spirit and spokesman of the movement, remarked that "the history of our people" bears eloquent witness to the fact that "the Finnish Nation is sufficiently de-



SKETCH MAP OF FINLAND.

veloped to become an independent people, free to settle its own affairs." The Provisional Government, on the contrary, held that the rights formerly vested in the Grand Duke of Finland now belonged to itself, as the sole depositary of the sovereign authority of the Russian people, and that the future relations between the two countries were to be determined not by a one-sided act of the Finnish Diet, but by a mutual agreement, whose terms could be fixed only by the All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

ATTEMPTS AT RECONCILIATION

The Diet opened on April 4, the date fixed by the Provisional Government in a special edict. Although it had a Socialist—that is, a separatist—majority, it refrained for some time from challenging the Russian Government and reluctantly submitted to its authority. The conciliatory spirit was still strong in Finland. Speaking in the Diet on June 13, Tokoi reiterated that the interests of free Russia can not and must not contradict those of Finland, and that it is not the intention of the latter

to take advantage of the difficulties which beset the Provisional Government. He noted with satisfaction that the two peoples had achieved mutual understanding, and protested his faith in the sincerity of the purpose of Russian democracy. "We do not conceal," he added, however, "that the final goal of the Finns is an independent Finland, in keeping with the position we are entitled to occupy among the civilized nations."

The course of the Russian revolution was not of such a nature as to counteract the separatist tendencies throughout the country. Finnish separatism was gaining impetus in proportion as the general economic disintegration penetrated into Finland and as it became evident that revolutionary Russia was not able to evolve a strong Government capable of safeguarding the acquisitions of the revolution. It was safer for the Finns, their leaders apparently thought, to have the independence of Finland safeguarded by an international guarantee than to rely upon the protectorate of a country which in the sinuous and uncertain course of its history might revert to a barbarous régime and then again trample under foot the Finnish liberties.

INSIST ON SEPARATION

The Socialists led the movement. On June 22 the Congress of the Finnish Social Democrats demanded the separation of Finland from Russia and the formation of an independent republic. The following excerpt from an appeal issued by the Finnish Socialists to their comrades throughout the world elucidates the stand taken by the Finnish Socialistic Party:

Russian capitalism is not willing to renounce its power in Finland. * * * Russian supreme authority in relation to Finland signifies nothing less than political guardianship and oppression of the Finnish people. * * * The ruling bourgeoisie will sooner or later renew its exploitation of Finland. We appeal to the Socialist parties of the world, and particularly to our brother parties in Russia, and ask them to help us win and secure the independence of Finland. * * * The Finnish question is an international question. The Russian bourgeoisie cannot sufficiently guarantee the integrity of Finland's liberty.

The conflict between the Diet and the Provisional Government, like the Ukrainian movement, reached a critical stage in July. In the second week of this month it transpired that new constitutional laws were being voted by the Diet. This new Constitution, which was drafted in such strict secrecy that the Finnish Governor General had no knowledge of it, abolished practically all connections between Russia and Finland, except, in Tokoi's words, "the last vague bonds with Russia, which consist of a common policy in respect to defense and foreign affairs." Petrograd was seized with indignation, and a delegation, headed by Tscheidze, was immediately sent to Helsingfors to negotiate with the Diet.

DECREE OF AUTONOMY

Nevertheless, on July 19 the Diet passed the Autonomy bill by a vote of 136 to 55, and rejected the motion to submit the bill to the Provisional Government for confirmation by 104 to 86. The main provisions of the new law were as follows:

1. The Diet of Finland alone decides, confirms, and executes all Finnish laws, including those relating to home affairs, taxation, and customs. The Diet also makes the final decision regarding all other affairs which the Emperor-Grand Duke decided according to the law hitherto in force. The provisions of this law do not relate to matters of foreign policy, military legislation, and military administration.

2. The Diet meets for regular sessions without special summons and decides when they are to be closed. Until Finland's new form of government is decided upon, the Diet exercises the right of deciding upon new elections and the dissolution of the Diet.

3. The Diet controls the executive power of Finland. The supreme executive power is exercised by the Economic Department of the Finnish Senate, whose members are nominated and dismissed by the Diet.

The new Constitution made no mention of the Russian connection and apparently did not recognize the institution of Governor Generalship. It was a formal denial of Russia's suzerain rights in Finland. The Provisional Government persevered in the view that, as Tscheidze expressed it, "Finnish independence means independence established by

Russo-Finnish agreement, with the sanction of the Constitutional Assembly."

Russia's reply to the Finnish challenge came on Aug. 3, in the form of a decree ordering the dissolution of the Diet and setting Nov. 1, 1917, for the opening of a Diet elected anew. The edict was accompanied by a manifesto which declared the autonomy law unconstitutional, and reiterated that the rights of the former Grand Dukes, an essential element of the Finnish Constitution, were now vested in the Provisional Government.

RUSSIA THREATENS FORCE

Governor General Stakhovich issued a proclamation to the citizens of Helsingfors, setting forth that in calling for new elections the Government was appealing directly to the Finnish people over the heads of their present representatives, with whom it could not come to an agreement, and that the Provisional Government thus hoped to avoid the necessity of resorting to force. In the Diet Stakhovich explained that the date of the new elections had been fixed so that the opening of the Diet should coincide with the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, it being the belief of the Government that the two bodies, acting simultaneously, would be best fitted to determine the future Russo-Finnish relations. He added that, should the Diet refuse to obey, he would be compelled to use force, according to express instructions from Petrograd.

The Diet realized that the Provisional Government was resolved to enforce its will, and yielded. An armed insurrection is the last thing one should expect of the Finns. What they are most practiced in is the fine art of passive resistance. All through the months which followed the dissolution of the Diet the Finns made a fair show of their skill in this art. True to the watchword of independent Finland, they systematically refused to share the enormous financial burden of the nominally suzerain State, and persisted in their hostility toward the Russian troops stationed in the country. As for the Provisional Government, it did not hesitate to show the Finns its teeth on several occasions. Thus early in September it suppressed a number of

Finnish papers. Yet both in the Premiership of Prince Lvoff and in that of Kerensky, it pursued, upon the whole, a policy of compromises and concessions.

UNDER LENINE'S REGIME

The new Diet, the second since the revolution, opened at the appointed date. It had been in session for several days when the Bolsheviks seized the reins of power. The November revolution, or Bolshevik coup-d'état, swept away the obstacles which stood in the way of Finland's independence. Governor General Nekrasov, Stakhovich's successor and a former member of what the Bolsheviks termed "the bourgeois Government," left Finland immediately after Kerensky's downfall, and the new Government appointed no one to replace him.

The Russian authority was now represented solely by soldiers and sailors, scattered all over the country. Thus the bonds between Russia and Finland were de facto severed. Moreover, the Government of the Soviets recognized in principle the right of the Russian peoples to secede, without waiting for the decision of the Constituent Assembly. A manifesto issued by the People's Commissaries, i. e., the Bolshevik Ministers, on Nov. 23, confirms the right to freedom and self-determination on the part of the various nationalities which go to make Russia, and states expressly that "this right of the Russian peoples to their self-determination is to be extended even as far as separation and the forming of independent States." Finland was now free to act.

FINLAND INDEPENDENT

The independence of Finland was proclaimed on the 7th day of December, 1917. On that day the union between Russia and Finland, which had lasted since 1809, came to an end. Two days later the President of the Finnish Senate issued a proclamation, declaring that the Finnish Diet had assumed sovereign power and had appointed the Senate as the supreme executive authority. Thereupon, the document continued, the President of the Senate had submitted to the Diet a bill instituting Finland an independent republic. The proclamation

pointed out that no legal Russian authority existed in Finland, and that the state of anarchy in Russia forced the Finnish people to sever all relations of dependence with that country. It further stated that Finland was acting on the strength of the Allies' recognition of the right of all peoples to political self-determination.

By the end of the year the work of organizing Finland's State machinery was virtually completed, and negotiations for international recognition were opened. The first power to recognize the new republic was Sweden, to which Finland appealed in the name of a common historical past of upward of a thousand years. Sweden's example was followed by France, Norway, Denmark, and Germany. On Jan. 9 the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets unanimously accepted the recognition of Finnish independence. The crimson banner with the yellow lion of Finland surrounded by nine white roses, which was hoisted during the March revolution, is now the national flag of a full-fledged, internationally recognized State.

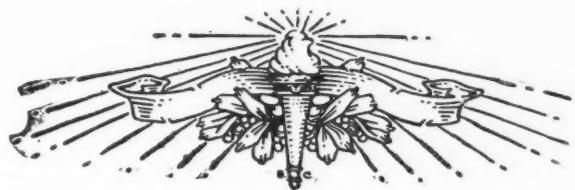
FIGHTING THE BOLSHEVISTS

The Republic of Finland was born under the sinister sign of civil strife. It appears that the latest phase of the Russian upheaval, in which the revolution has assumed the character of a war of the poor against the rich, has called forth a responsive echo among the Finnish masses. Finland is a fertile soil for the propaganda of class war. The trouble started in November, when the Socialists declared a general strike in order to force the Diet, in which they were in the minority, to vote in favor of the immediate adoption of the Independence bill.

Later, in January, they repeated, on a smaller scale, the Petrograd revolution of Nov. 8 and set up a Government of their own, on the pattern of the one which sits in the Smolny Institute. It was during the November strike that the extremists organized the Red Guard of Workers, the army of the coming social revolution.

The movement originated spontaneously, but it is highly probable that the Petrograd Government gladly seized the opportunity of directing and supporting social revolution in Finland. At any rate, it is certain that the Russian soldiers and sailors took a large part in the conflict. The very arms for the Finnish Red Guard were secured from the Russian garrisons. At the date of this writing (middle of February) the Government troops, aided by the White Guard, which was organized by the propertied classes, seem to be masters of the situation.

The desire of the Finnish people to take their fate into their own hands is easily understood and in many respects legitimate. It is permissible, however, to question the wisdom of breaking off with the country on which Finland is largely dependent industrially and commercially. For Russia the secession of Finland constitutes no direct economic detriment, though eventually it will cause an enormous financial loss resulting from the necessity of abandoning Petrograd as the capital of Russia. A frontier city—and Petrograd is one, for there is only a score of miles between it and the nearest Finnish centre across the Neva estuary—is hardly fit to be the capital of a country. But what is this loss in comparison with the disasters which the maimed and broken Russian colossus is now facing?



Russia's Withdrawal From the War

Record of Events Leading Up to the Bolshevik Government's Formal Desertion of the Allies

THE Ukrainian People's Republic, as represented by the anti-Bolshevik Rada at Kiev, signed a formal peace treaty with the Central Powers on Feb. 9. 1918. Russia, as represented by the Bolshevik Government at Petrograd, formally withdrew from the war the next day, Feb. 10, though refusing to sign a treaty of peace. Both events, though separate, took place at Brest-Litovsk, where negotiations had been in progress for many weeks.

The official announcement of the ending of Russia's part in the war, as made by the Bolshevik Government, follows:

The peace negotiations are at an end. The German capitalists, bankers, and landlords, supported by the silent co-operation of the English and French bourgeoisie, submitted to our comrades, members of the peace delegations at Brest-Litovsk, conditions such as could not be subscribed to by the Russian revolution.

The Governments of Germany and Austria possess countries and peoples vanquished by force of arms. To this authority the Russian people, workmen and peasants, could not give its acquiescence. We could not sign a peace which would bring with it sadness, oppression, and suffering to millions of workmen and peasants.

But we also can not, will not, and must not continue a war begun by Czars and capitalists in alliance with Czars and capitalists. We will not and we must not continue to be at war with the Germans and Austrians—workmen and peasants like ourselves.

We are not signing a peace of landlords and capitalists. Let the German and Austrian soldiers know who are placing them in the field of battle and let them know for what they are struggling. Let them know also that we refuse to fight against them.

Our delegation, fully conscious of its responsibility before the Russian people and the oppressed workers and peasants of other countries, declared on Feb. 10, in the name of the Council of the People's Commissaries of the Government of the Federal Russian Republic to the Governments of the peoples involved in the war with us and of the neutral countries, that

it refused to sign an annexationist treaty. Russia, for its part, declares the present war with Germany and Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria at an end.

Simultaneously, the Russian troops received an order for complete demobilization on all fronts.

The signatures of Leon Trotzky and other members of the delegation are appended.

In connection with this statement an order was also issued that necessary steps be taken for declaring to the troops that the war with Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria was regarded from that moment as being at an end, as follows:

No military operations must again take place. The beginning of a general demobilization on all fronts is decreed. I order the issue of instructions on the front for the withdrawal of the troops from the first lines and for their concentration in the rear, and, further, for their dispatch to the interior of Russia, in accordance with the general plan for demobilization. For the defense of the frontier some detachments of younger soldiers must be left.

I beg our soldier comrades to remain calm and await with patience the moment of the return of each detachment to its home in its turn. I beg that no effort be spared to bring into the stores all artillery and other military equipment which cost milliards of the people's money.

Remember that only systematic demobilization can be carried out in the shortest time, and that systematic demobilization alone can prevent interference with the sending of food supplies to those detachments which remain for a certain period on the front.

The first news of the conclusion of peace between the Ukraine and the Central Powers and the capitulation of the Bolsheviks to the German demands came from Berlin on Feb. 10 and was confirmed the next day from Vienna, but no news came from Petrograd or Brest-Litovsk for six days preceding these announcements. The news of peace on the eastern front created great enthu-

siasm throughout Germany and Austria, and cities everywhere in both countries were beflagged. The German Emperor, in replying to an address of congratulation by the Burgomaster of Hamburg on the conclusion of peace with the Ukraine, said:

We ought to bring peace to the world. We shall seek in every way to do it. Such an end was achieved yesterday in a friendly manner with an enemy which, beaten by our armies, perceives no reason for fighting longer, extends a hand to us, and receives our hand. We clasp hands. But he who will not accept peace, but on the contrary declines, pouring out the blood of his own and of our people, must be forced to have peace. We desire to live in friendship with neighboring peoples, but the victory German arms must first be recognized. Our troops under the great Hindenburg will continue to win it. Then peace will come.

After the situation came to be fully understood, however, the leading German newspapers indicated by their comment that the feeling in Germany was not one of unmixed confidence; some doubt lingered as to whether the Bolsheviks would, after all, be able to establish peace. The Berliner Tageblatt's comment was:

We have peace with Russia because there is no Russian Army, but it is a peace devoid of any solid basis and without agreement. The quadruple alliance must now, as heretofore, strive after a definite settlement in eastern affairs, which will facilitate the establishment of peaceful and neighborly relations with the Russian people.

The Lokal-Anzeiger declared that premature rejoicing with the representatives of greater Russia had never been warranted, nor was it then, in view of the latest manifestations of Maximalist diplomacy. Other journals expressed similar views.

It was officially announced that Great Britain would not recognize the Ukraine peace treaty.

M. Kameneff, one of the Russian peace delegates, announced at Stockholm that Russia's action had been decided upon previously by the Soviet Congress. He added: "By our decision we have not given a finger to the Germans. We have not signed anything. We have not recog-

nized the German principles. Thus, we have a free hand to set forth anew our principles at a general peace conference."

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The withdrawal of Russia from further participation in the war was a natural sequel to what had occurred after the forcible dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, which had attempted to meet in Petrograd on Jan. 18. In the February issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE the forcible dispersing of the Assembly was recorded, with the decree of Lenin giving his reasons for this step. The real cause, however, was the Assembly's rejection—by a vote of 237 to 146—of a declaration submitted by the Central Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, as follows:

The Constituent Assembly resolves that Russia be declared a republic of Soviets. The central and provincial power appertains to these Soviets. The Republic of Soviets is formed on the basis of a free alliance of free nations under the Constitution of a confederation of national Soviet republics.

Then followed a long series of provisions. Article II. declared abrogated the right of private proprietorship of land, which was declared to be the property of the State. In the same article the principle of obligatory work for all was laid down, and the arming of the working classes, the disarming of the leisure classes, the organization of the Red Socialists, and the arming of workmen and peasants were announced. Article III. approved the policy of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates for a democratic peace and approved the decree repudiating all Russian loans. Article IV. said:

There having been an election on the electoral registers, drawn up before the people had begun to organize a social society, the Constituent Assembly considers that it can in no way oppose the power of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Government. At the moment of the decisive struggle of the people against those who have exploited them, the latter can find no place in the governing body. The power must lie exclusively in the hands of the working classes and their representatives, the Soviets.

Immediately after the dissolution of the Assembly the Executive Committee

of the Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates issued a proclamation declaring that the revolution created the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council as the only organization able to direct the struggle of the exploited working classes for complete political and economical liberation. During the first period of the revolution the Workmen's and Soldiers' Congress had perceived the illusion of an understanding with the bourgeoisie and its deceptive parliamentary organization, and had realized that the liberation of the oppressed classes was impossible without a rupture with the bourgeoisie. The decree continues:

Therefore, the revolution of November arose, giving all authority to the Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. The Constituent Assembly, being elected from the old election lists, was the expression of the old régime, when authority belonged to the bourgeoisie. The people who voted for the Social Revolutionists were unable to distinguish those of the Right, who were partisans of the bourgeoisie, from those of the Left, who were partisans of socialism. Therefore, the Constituent Assembly necessarily became the authority of the bourgeois republic, setting itself against the revolution of November and the authority of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils.

The revolution of November, the decree continues, had shown the workers that the old bourgeois parliamentarianism had had its day and was incompatible with the tasks before socialism, and that only such institutions as the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils were able to overcome the opposition of the rich classes and create a new Socialist State. The decree adds:

Every refusal to recognize the authority of the republican Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils and to place in the hands of the Constituent Assembly and the bourgeoisie the liberty which had been won would be a step backward and toward the bankruptcy of the Workmen's and Peasants' revolution.

The Constituent Assembly opened on Jan. 18, and for known reasons gave a majority to the Social Revolutionists of the Right—the party of Kerensky, Tchernoff, and Avksentieff. It is comprehensible that this faction refused to debate the just and clear program of the Central Executive Committee of the Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and to recognize a declaration of rights of the exploited working classes,

as well as the revolution of November and the authority of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils.

This, the decree says, made a breach in the Assembly and the departure of the Bolsheviki and Social Revolutionists of the Left inevitable. The Social Revolutionists of the Right, it says, were fighting openly against the authority of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils and supporting the exploiters of labor, and if this party only remained it might play the rôle of leading a bourgeois counter-revolution. The decree concludes: "The Central Executive Committee therefore orders the Constituent Assembly dissolved."

THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

After this act it was clear that Russia would no longer be in a position to refuse the German terms of peace, notwithstanding the frequent declarations of Trotzky and his associates that unless Germany would first evacuate the occupied territory of Russia hostilities would be resumed. The proceedings at Brest-Litovsk were temporarily adjourned after the dissolution of the Assembly, apparently with the parties no nearer an agreement than at first. The Russian delegates returned to Petrograd to consult, and the German and Austrian Foreign Ministers proceeded to Berlin, where important conferences were held.

Meanwhile serious strikes had broken out throughout Germany and Austria-Hungary, and it was thought by some observers that the leaven of Bolshevism had permeated the Central Empires and that the long-predicted revolution had begun. This view, however, soon proved groundless, as the strikers were subdued by stern military measures; in some instances where the strikers refused to disperse they were fired upon by the soldiery. Proclamations were issued by commanders of military districts threatening the strikers with arrest for treason unless they returned to work; one Reichstag Deputy—Dittmann—was arrested and sent to prison for abetting the strike.

The third congress of the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates of all Russia met on Jan. 23 to act on the report

from Brest-Litovsk. There were 625 members present, mostly workmen or soldiers, with a sprinkling of sailors and several women. Lenine, Trotzky, and Marie Spiridonova (leader of the left wing of the Social Revolutionaries who had been defeated for Chairman of the Constituent Assembly) were elected Honorary Presidents.

THE BOLSHEVIST VERSION

This congress issued the following version of what had occurred at Brest-Litovsk in the final session preceding the adjournment to Jan. 29:

Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, addressing the conference, declared that "the position of the Austro-Germans is now absolutely clear." Continuing, the Foreign Minister said:

"Germany and Austria seek to cut off more than 150,000 square versts from the former Polish Kingdom of Lithuania, also the area populated by the Ukrainians and White Russians, and, further, they want to cut into territory of the Letts and separate the islands populated by the Esthonians from the same peoples on the mainland. Within this territory Germany and Austria wish to retain their reign of military occupation, not only after the conclusion of peace with Russia, but after the conclusion of a general peace. At the same time the Central Powers refuse not only to give any explanation regarding the terms of evacuation, but also refuse to obligate themselves regarding the evacuation.

"The internal life of these provinces lies, therefore, for an indefinite period in the hands of these powers. Under such conditions any indefinite guarantees regarding the expression of the will of the Poles, Letts, and Lithuanians is only of an illusory character. Practically it means that the Governments of Austria and Germany take into their own hands the destiny of these nations."

Trotzky declared that he was glad now that the Central Powers were speaking frankly, stating that General Hoffmann's conditions proved that the real aims were built on a level quite different from that of the principles recognized on Dec. 25, and that real or lasting peace was only possible on the actual principle of self-definition.

"It is clear," Trotzky declared, "that the decision could have been reached long ago regarding peace aims if the Central Powers had not stated their aims differently from those expressed by General Hoffmann."

Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, German

Secretary for Foreign Affairs, replied to Trotzky, declaring in principle that General Hoffmann's aims were the same as those advanced at Christmas. Throughout the negotiations, he said, the Germans had kept in view the ethnological boundaries, but also the actual boundaries of the old Russian Empire. The Central Powers intended to permit free self-definition, and he scoffed at the theory that the presence of troops would prevent this. Regarding evacuation, Dr. von Kühlmann said that it must be taken up with the newly born self-defined Governments.

"If General Hoffmann expresses the terms more strongly," said Dr. Kühlmann, "it is because a soldier always expresses stronger language than diplomats. But it must not be deduced from this that there is any dissension between us regarding the principles, which are one whole and well thought out."

Dr. Kühlmann consented to Trotzky's request for a postponement of the conference, declaring, however, that it would be much pleasanter if they could finish the negotiations at once, as the former recess brought about many misunderstandings.

GENERAL HOFFMANN'S THREAT

It was announced on Jan. 24 that the Russian delegates to the peace conference had unanimously decided to reject the German terms. They stated, referring to the action of General Hoffmann of the German delegation, that, when they asked Germany's final terms, the General replied by opening a map and pointing out the following line, which they insisted should constitute the future frontier of Russia: From the shores of the Gulf of Finland to the east of the Moon Sound Islands, to Valk, to the west of Minsk, to Brest-Litovsk. This completely eliminates Courland and all the Baltic provinces.

The Russians asked the terms of the Central Powers in regard to the territory south of Brest-Litovsk. General Hoffmann replied that was a question which they would discuss only with Ukraine. M. Kameneff asked: "Supposing we do not agree to such conditions. What are you going to do?"

General Hoffmann's answer was: "Within a week, then, we would occupy Reval." The Russians then asked for a recess, which was granted reluctantly.

Although the Russian delegates were given a recess, the discussions between

the Ukrainians and the Central Powers continued uninterruptedly.

HISTORIC SOVIET MEETING

The Assembly of Soviets at Petrograd did not receive the report of the peace negotiations until the third day of its session. On the evening of Jan. 27 Trotzky made his report.

The session opened with the announcement that Spiridonova would speak from the Peasants. All the guests' seats throughout the building had been given to members of the Peasants' Assembly, so that Trotzky, when he finally made his report, spoke not to the Soldiers and Workers only, but also to the Peasants' Assembly, which, in spite of the prognostications of the anti-Bolsheviks, had an overwhelming Bolshevik majority, and supported the action of the Soviets in sweeping away the Constituent Assembly.

After Zinoviev had welcomed the Peasants there was singing of the "Internationale." Then a moment's pause, and Trotzky was at the tribune, and when the roars of applause had ended, he began quietly and clearly his exposition of the history, method, aims, and results of the peace negotiations. He pointed out that the Allies had two and a half months in which they could have come in. He pointed out that Kerensky's repeated efforts to move the Allies toward peace had proved absolutely fruitless. The object of the conference was to make the actual obstacles to peace clear, not only for the peoples of the hostile countries, but also for the Russian people.

He pointed out how the Germans, by presenting an ultimatum in the form of a refusal to continue the discussions anywhere but at Brest-Litovsk, hoped to make the Russians break on an excuse which would cloud the issue for the German working classes. He touched on the weak point of the Russian side, namely, the delegation from the Ukrainian Rada. "We asked them, like ourselves, to hold no unpublished conversations with the enemy," he explained. "They said they would consult Kiev before answering. That answer we have never received in spite of repeated requests."

TROTZKY'S EXPLANATION

He read a telegram showing that Albert Thomas (former French Minister of Munitions) even then believed that the patriotic Rada was going to save Russia from making a separate peace, when, as a matter of fact, the Rada was concluding a separate peace itself. Then, after mentioning three distinct tendencies in Germany, he said that the main point on which the discussions hung was the refusal of Germany to name a date for the removal of troops. He sketched the line which the Germans intended to show to be the new frontiers, and said it was so planned as to make further German aggression easy.

"The whole system of the German argument was based on the assumption that the Russian Government would understand, but be silent and grateful to the Germans for saving their faces by giving a mock democratic character to their peace," he said.

Then came the decisive moment. Trotzky threw his head back and stood a figure of incomparable energy as he said: "The bourgeois Governments can sign any kind of peace. The Government of the Soviets cannot."

In that whole vast assembly there was but a handful of men who disagreed. Trotzky continued, saying that it was to the interests of all other Governments that a non-democratic peace should be signed. He pointed to Rumania, where Rumanian troops, he said, isolated and starved, had fired on Russian troops and, for the sake of preventing a revolution, were prepared to seize Bessarabia, thus making possible compensation elsewhere with a view to a non-democratic peace. He announced the action which the Soviet Government had decided to take against Rumania, and went on: "Yes, we have plenty of enemies. Either we shall be destroyed or the power of the bourgeoisie throughout Europe will be destroyed. We have left the imperialistic war and shall never return to it." With regard to further steps he asked to be allowed free action. In any case, he would not sign a non-democratic peace.

The Soviet Assembly indorsed the at-

titude of the Peace Commissioners and also passed resolutions:

1. Making valid the transfer of land.
2. The giving of control to the workmen.
3. The establishment of a soldiers' and workmen's republic, and, ultimately, the federation of soldiers' and workmen's republics.
4. The nationalization of banks and the repudiation of national debts.

Zalkind, assistant to the Foreign Minister, Trotzky, in explanation of the last measure said to The Associated Press:

This measure has been passed in principle and it has become a law, but its enforcement is in the hands of the National Commissaries. If they find it expedient, necessary, or desirable they have the right to refuse to pay the debts.

It was later announced that the Soviet, realizing that Germany would not accede to the demand for evacuation of the occupied provinces, decided to make no peace treaty; it also decided upon demobilization of the Russian Army and upon the method of withdrawing from the war as announced on Feb. 12.

VON KUEHLMANN'S COMMENTS

During the period between the ending of the conferences at Brest-Litovsk and the resumption of negotiations the German Foreign Minister, Dr. von Kühlmann, was in Berlin. In one of his addresses before the Reichstag Main Committee, Jan. 26, he said:

A representative body of Lithuania has really been honorably set up, and the representatives of the Lithuanian people of all classes can strive toward the realization of possibilities. It has been suggested that we should wait until the end of the war before extension of this to other existing representative bodies. We work under difficult circumstances in the country in question, as the war still continues. We will, if peace is reached with Russia, do what can be done in conjunction with the military necessities, with a view to bringing about this extension during the war.

Herr Trotzky twice declared in open discussion that our Government has no other basis than force. The Bolsheviks maintain themselves by brutal force; their arguments are cannon and machine guns. Differences of opinion are settled by their getting rid of their opponents in a radical and satisfactory manner. The Bolsheviks preach beautifully, but practice otherwise.

They have solemnly recognized the Finnish Republic. They never disputed the

right of that republic to receive diplomatic representatives, but when it came to the act of sending representatives there, they created the greatest difficulties. When we have news from Finland we will know that the soldiery in exercising there a tyranny worse than existed in the times of the Czar.

I may point to the proceedings of the Bolsheviks against the legal Assembly, announced with so much pomp. The main fact in that case was that two cruisers anchored in front of the Tauride Palace and turned their guns on its windows. As this argument was not sufficient, the delegates were simply chased out with bayonets.

The statements of the Bolsheviks show that these gentlemen are indulging in another policy than that of concluding an open and honorable peace with the Bourgeois Governments of the Central Powers, which are hated like poison.

"CONVERSATIONS" WITH POLAND

Dr. Kühlmann said that "conversations" with Poland had been carried on by Germany and Austria for months with zeal, but were not yet ripe for communication. He continued:

What Count Czernin said of Poland we can say of the other border peoples who will form the object of our discussion. We have precisely the same confidence in the attractive force of the great free German State for these peoples. German policy never will resort to petty police pressure or any similar methods, which in the long run would only have the contrary effect.

Regarding Turkey and Bulgaria, the Foreign Secretary said:

These peoples, at an hour of weighty import, trusting Germany's star, joined our side, and they shall never get the impression from the peace negotiations that the German word is not binding on every German to the end.

Dr. Kühlmann concluded by declaring that the German Government earnestly desired a wise and honorable peace.

The final sessions were resumed at Brest-Litovsk on Jan. 29, but no details of what occurred were given out except the brief announcement on Feb. 10 that a peace treaty had been made with the Ukraine and that the Bolsheviks had capitulated to the German demands without signing a treaty.

A decree was issued Feb. 3 on the authority of the Soviets, signed by the Premier and other members of the Gov-

ernment, separating the Church and State, eliminating church income from the State and confiscating all church realty, furnishings, and paraphernalia. The decree stipulates that religious societies may continue to use the property exclusively for religious services, although the title is vested in the State.

Religious freedom is guaranteed so long as religious societies do not interfere with social order, limit the rights of individuals or hinder the republic. No religious scruples are to exempt persons from their duties as citizens. The religious oath is canceled and replaced by promise.

Marriage ceremonies and birth registrations are to be performed by the civil authorities. Religious teaching is abolished in State schools and in private schools with a similar curriculum.

No State assistance will be given to any church society or religious agent. No religious society will be permitted to own any property, but will merely be permitted to borrow it from the State for church services.

The Rev. Dr. Tikhon, Patriarch of all Russia and Metropolitan of Moscow, bitterly attacked the decree, declaring those responsible for it anathema, and threatened them with excommunication.

The Dissolution of the Russian Armies

Report of General Denikine

The fact that the Russian armies were refusing to fight first became fully known to the world through the disaster of July 21, 1917, when the Russians in Galicia were driven back to Tarnopol. On the 28th General Denikine, commander in that sector, was called before a war council held at Mohileff and made a frank report to the revolutionary authorities on the reasons for the catastrophe. The chief passages of this report, which have now reached the United States through the Paris Temps, are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The report is the most striking revelation of conditions at that crucial period thus far forthcoming in official and authoritative form.

IT is with profound emotion and a consciousness of my heavy responsibility that I have written this report.

I ask your indulgence. I was wont to speak frankly and fearlessly in the presence of the autocratic Czar, and my words will be of the same kind in the presence of the revolutionary autocracy.

When called to the command I found the troops in a state of complete disorganization. This fact seemed all the more strange because neither the accounts that had reached the headquarters of the General Staff nor my own observations had led me to expect so desolating a situation. It is easy to explain this fact: As long as the soldiers merely had to maintain a passive attitude they gave way to no important excesses. But when the moment arrived for them to do their duty, when they were ordered to prepare for attack, then the animal instinct spoke and the veil was lifted.

There were as many as ten divisions that did not take their positions for departure, as ordered. An enormous turmoil arose among the officers of all ranks, the committees, the agitators. There were endless requests, conversations, persuasions. To take even the least decisive measure it was necessary before all to diminish the number of troops in revolt. Almost a whole month passed in this way. Only a part of the divisions obeyed the order to go into battle. In particular, the 2d Corps, from the Caucasus, and the 160th Infantry Division revolted. Many detachments lost not only their former appearance, but even all human semblance. I shall never forget the hour I passed in the 703d Regiment.

In certain regiments there were from eight to ten distilleries of alcohol! Drunkenness, gambling, assault and battery, pillage, sometimes murder. * * *

I decided to send the 2d Caucasian Corps to the rear, with the exception of the 51st Infantry Division, and to reorganize it as well as the 160th, thus depriving myself from the outset of a force of about 130,000 bayonets. In the sector with the Caucasian Infantry Corps were placed the 28th and 29th Infantry Divisions, considered the best on the front. The 29th moved into position as ordered, but the next day almost two and a half regiments returned to the rear. The 28th Division wished to deploy a regiment into the vacant position, but the regiment decided without appeal not to occupy it.

PREMIER KERENSKY'S VISIT

Everything possible was done to influence them. The Commander in Chief [Brusiloff] himself came, and after discussions with the committees and delegates of the two corps went away with the impression that the soldiers were good, but that the officers were frightened, and had lost their heads. It was not the truth. The officers in this incredibly painful situation had done all that they could.

The Commander in Chief is not aware that the meeting of the 1st Siberian Corps, which welcomed his address with enthusiasm, was prolonged after his departure. Other orators came, who demanded that the soldiers should not listen to "the old bourgeois," (pardon me, but that is the word used,) and loaded his name with gross insults. These speeches were saluted with frantic applause.

The Minister of War, M. Kerensky, in the course of a tour of inspection, made an inspiring appeal to glory, and received a triumphal welcome from the 28th Infantry Division; but on his return he met the deputation from one of two regiments in this division which had taken a resolution, a half hour after the orator's departure, not to attack. Still more touching was the spectacle of the 28th Infantry Division, which burst into the wildest enthusiasm at the moment when the red flag was returned to the commander of the regiment from Poti, who received it kneeling. By the mouths of three orators and by repeated cries the men of the regiment vowed that they

would die for their country. On the first day of the attack, without even going into their trenches, this regiment made a half-turn and went six or seven miles to the rear of the battle line.

CAUSES OF THE DEMORALIZATION

Among the factors which should have sustained the morale of the troops, but which in reality led them into complete demoralization, were the political commissaries and the soldiers' committees. Perhaps there were among the commissaries a few "black swans," who, without meddling in what did not concern them, were really of some use. But the very institution, from the fact that it involves two powers, that it creates friction, that it is an unsolicited and baneful interference, cannot fail to be a cause of decomposition in the army.

The committees are another cause of demoralization. I do not deny the remarkable work of many which are doing their duty with all their might. Many of their members especially were precious for their superb example of heroic death. But I affirm that their usefulness has not compensated, save in a minor degree, for the enormous evil caused by the committees to army discipline by reason of their oligarchy, of their division of power, their hostile interference in war affairs, and the discredit they throw on authority. I could give hundreds of examples of their work of disorganization and weakening of authority, but I will limit myself to the most characteristic:

On June 8 a committee at the front decided not to attack; then it changed and pronounced for an attack. On June 1 the committee of the 2d Army decided not to attack, and on June 20 changed its decision. The Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates at Minsk, by a vote of 123 to 79, refused to authorize an attack. All the committees of the 169th Infantry Division voted for lack of confidence in the Provisional Government and a belief that they considered an attack on the enemy to be "treason to the revolution." The campaign against authority expressed itself in a whole series of dismissals of commanding officers, acts in which, in the

majority of cases, the committees took part. At the very beginning of the military operations a corps commander, a chief of the General Staff, and the head of a division intrusted with an important attack had to abandon their commands. In this manner about sixty officers, from commanders of army corps to heads of regiments, were deposed.

It is difficult to estimate all the evil done by the committees. There is no longer any firm discipline. If a consolidating decision is made by a majority vote it amounts to nothing. The Bolsheviks, hiding behind their privilege as members of the committee, are everywhere sowing trouble and revolt. In brief—oligarchy and prolixity! In place of support for authority, discredit. The military leader, hampered, elevated, then cast down, discredited on all sides, is expected, nevertheless, to be powerful and to conduct the troops vigorously to battle.

FAILURE OF THE OFFENSIVE

Such was the material preparation that preceded the operations. The deployment was not finished, but the pressure on the southwest front made immediate succor necessary. The enemy had already deprived my front of three or four divisions. I decided to attack with the remaining troops who seemed faithful to their duty.

For three days the artillery thundered against the enemy trenches, tore them up frightfully, inflicted heavy losses on the Germans, and pounded out a road for our infantry. Almost all the first zone was carried. Our chain of troops reached the enemy batteries. The breach seemed about to be enlarged: it was the long expected victory at last.

[General Denikine here tells in detail, with the aid of the report of the General Staff, how lack of discipline and the disorderly conduct of the troops caused the Russians to lose the benefits of a well-led attack which promised brilliant results. He continues:]

After this reverse the dwindling of man power increased, and at nightfall took on enormous proportions. The soldiers, weary, unnerved, unaccustomed to the roar of cannon after months of rest, of inaction, of fraternization, of meetings, abandoned the trenches en masse, throwing away their rifles and machine

guns, and flowed in a torrent toward the rear. The cowardice and indiscipline of some reached such a pitch that several of our Generals asked that no more artillery be fired, for fear that the noise of our own cannon would cause a panic among our soldiers.

[General Denikine goes on to relate the failure of another offensive operation, as described by the commandant of the 1st Siberian Corps. After carrying three fortified lines, in which the Russians established themselves "at the price of insignificant losses," the success was completely annulled because many soldiers refused to pass the night in the conquered positions. The General adds:]

Such was the result of this offensive. Never before had I had the good fortune to fight with such numerical superiority in bayonets and materials. Never had the outlook been so bright. On thirteen miles of front I had 184 batteries, against 29 enemy batteries; 900 guns against 300. The batteries that were to go into the attack were 138, against 17. All this was reduced to dust.

From the tone of all the reports of the Generals one might conclude that the mental condition of the troops immediately after the operation defied analysis. Three days later I called together the army commanders and asked these questions: "Will our armies be able to resist a serious German attack, with enemy reserves?" Answer: "No." "Can our armies sustain an organized attack of the Germans if the enemy forces remain the same as now?" Two commanders answered in vague, conditional terms; the head of the 10th Army categorically. The general verdict was: "We no longer have any infantry." I will make the statement stronger, and say: "We no longer have any army, and it is necessary to create one at any price."

Under Paragraph 6 of the "Declaration of the Soldier's Rights," it is prescribed that all printed matter, without exception, shall be forwarded to the person addressed. This deluges the whole army with incendiary Bolshevik literature, and upon this literature the spirit of the army is fed. It is evident that official funds, the funds of the people and of the Military Bureau at Moscow, have been invested in this vicious propaganda sent to the front.

From March 24 to May 1 there arrived 7,972 copies of the *Pravda*, 2,000 copies of the *Soldatskaia Pravda*, 30,375 copies of the *Sozial Demokrate*, &c. From May 1 to June 11 there arrived 61,525 copies of the *Soldatskaia Pravda*, 32,711 of the *Sozial Demokrate*, 6,999 of the *Pravda*. These papers were spread through the companies by individual soldiers.

Under Paragraph 14 no one is to be punished without trial. Certainly this right belongs to the private soldiers alone, for the officers continue to be denied it. What has happened? The high military tribunal, paralyzed by democratization, proposes to limit its activities to the most important cases, such as treason. The officers have lost all disciplinary authority. The disciplinary tribunals have not been elected, either through indifference or through boycott. In short, justice has been excluded from the army. All these legislative measures have annihilated authority and discipline, brought contempt upon the officers, deprived them of all confidence, all consideration.

The officers' corps: it is very painful to me to speak of this, and I will be brief. Sokoloff, plunging into military life, has said: "I could not have imagined what martyrs your officers are; I bow before them." Yes; in the darkest hours of the Czarist epoch the satellites and police did not employ, for those they deemed criminal, the tortures, the jeers

inflicted today by the sombre mass, guided by the revolutionary rabble, upon officers who are giving their lives for their country.

They are insulted at every turn, they are struck, yes, struck. But they do not complain; they are moved by shame, mortal shame. And more than one in private sheds tears over his misfortune. It is not strange that to escape such a situation many officers seek death on the battlefield. What epic calm and tragic resonance vibrate through this passage from an account of the battle: "In vain did the officers, marching in advance, try to rally their men. At that moment a white flag appears on Redoubt 3. Then fifteen officers, with a little group of soldiers, marched forward alone. Their fate is unknown. They were not seen again."—(Report of the 38th Army Corps.)

Peace to the ashes of those heroes, and may their blood be upon the heads of those who caused their death, whether voluntarily or involuntarily! The army is in ruins. Heroic measures are necessary.

[General Denikine ended by proposing a plan of military reorganization. It was summarily discarded, for events were moving rapidly in the other direction. Kerensky was losing his hold on the masses, who were even then bent on abandoning the war and negotiating a separate peace. When General Dukhonine, the new Commander in Chief, refused to open such negotiations in November he was deposed and murdered.]

The Falling Market in War Aims

By George Bernard Shaw

[By arrangement with The London Chronicle.]

[Mr. Shaw's personal opinions of the war situation at the beginning of 1918 are here stated with more than his usual whimsicality of humor, and are presented to CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE readers for their literary interest—without editorial indorsement.]

THE bidding for peace took a long time to start; but now that it has started, it is bewilderingly brisk.

It seems only yesterday that to have any war aims at all was denounced

as the blackest pro-German treason. Victory, smashing, triumphant victory without any ulterior object whatever except "the crushing of Prussian militarism," (the same thing in other words,) was the whole aspiration of the pugnacious patriot. To give Germany a knockout blow was admissible; but to take anything from her, or want anything from her, or compromise the purity of our position as the ministers of God's

wrath against her, was flat corruption. "Get on with the war," we said, rather superfluously, as the war was getting on with us quite as fast as we could keep up with it, and a little faster occasionally in the Atlantic. "What for?" asked a few impossible people. "Never mind: get on with the war," we said. And really we were justified by the facts, because the rulers of Germany showed no sign of troubling themselves about our aims, or caring whether we had any or not. They did not think our aims mattered, because they did not intend to let us achieve them. And it suited them very well that we should keep declaring that we were out to crush them. That was precisely what they had been telling the German people, to convince them that they must fight us to the bitter end in simple self-preservation; and they were only too glad to have our own word to support them.

GERMANY'S PACIFIC ROLE

At this point it occurred to some intelligent Teuton that the moral position of Germany could be considerably improved if Germany left to us the task of declaring that we were out for blood and iron and conquest, and took the pacifist position herself. The Russian revolution had, in fact, created a situation in which it was extremely important to all the belligerents that they should appear in the character of grievously molested Quakers, reluctantly forced to defend their countries against imperialist aggression. We did not notice this as soon as the Germans did: we were too busy bawling "Get on with the war." Consequently, though the tug-of-war on the western front went on as fiercely as ever, in the moral tug-of-war that goes on between the Governments in their appeals to the conscience of civilization, the Germans suddenly let go the rope; and we sat down with a crash. "Why this shocking slaughter?" they said. "We desire peace. We have always desired peace. Let dogs delight to bark and bite; but let us behave as the trustees of civilization. We propose the status quo ante, peace on earth and good-will toward men. We have taken Belgium: we will make Belgium a present of herself. We have an-

nexed the top of France: we will return it to her as a Christmas gift. Western Europe and Africa shall be as they were: the rest can be arranged. If another shot is fired it shall not be our fault."

GERMANY'S PROFESSIONS

We were morally dished. Nobody saw it apparently except Lord Lansdowne; and his desperate attempt to capture the ground we should have been the first to occupy was spoilt by our stupidity. For of all stupid ways of receiving it that were possible the very stupidest was to raise a shriek that we must not dream of peace now because we were beaten. Yet for several days after Lord Lansdowne's letter appeared, it was rank treason, dastardly pacificism, unblushing Boloism, treacherous pro-Germanism, to suggest that the British Army had ever suffered anything but disastrous, disgraceful defeat, or that the irresistible Hun's magnificent sweep to a faultlessly organized victory had been marred by a single reverse. Jellicoe, *ci devant* Nelsonic victor of the Jutland Trafalgar, was suddenly banished to the obscurity of the House of Lords for losing that battle. Well might Haig, in his château somewhere in France, ask himself desperately whether any commander could struggle against such patriotism, and pray for a Government of pacifists, of pro-Germans, of Quakers, even of certified lunatics as less dangerous than uncertified ones. German military stock went up with a bound; there was an unmistakable heartening of the German public, orchestrated by a crescendo in the German militarist music. "We do not ask you to take the defeat of the Allies on our biased authority," said the Pan-Germans: "they tell you so themselves. Read the London papers." And the German people did read them in "Sidelights on England," and believed them. They naturally wanted to believe them; and they could hardly be expected to know that a London patriot is a hysterical creature who is not only unable to keep his head, but cannot be restrained from kicking it around the streets under the impression that it is the Kaiser's head.

The news from the front was not one-sided enough to restore order. Haig had

made one of his lion springs and torn Passchendaele out of Hindenburg's claws before Hindenburg knew where he was. Hindenburg, growling that two could play at that game, had dashed at La Vacquerie, and covered six miles in less than two hours, driving before him naked men, making Parthian slings of their bath towels. The two Generals held on grimly to their prey, glaring at one another and panting, but were obliged to confess that honors were easy. In Italy the Government had played the fool with the labor question.

Meanwhile our Government had also played the fool, not only over labor, but over the Russian revolution. From the moment that revolution broke out there was an inevitable diversion in the energies of our Foreign Office, which at once classed the war with Germany as an affair of secondary importance, and set itself, as a matter of good form, to ignore the Petrograd rabble, and convince the relics of the Benckendorff circle of our unalterable devotion to the Czardom. It could hardly do less without losing its position in Western society. Meanwhile the distrust of labor by our own Government led to the Henderson incident. Mr. Henderson, who had been all but disarmed by appeals to his patriotism and loyalty, and by the pretense of admitting him to the Cabinet, had his eyes opened by a gross personal discourtesy; and in that moment labor found a leader, and Mr. Henderson saved his soul alive. "Very good, gentlemen," he said: "you refuse to admit that this war concerns the working class. The working class will now state the aims of England in this war, not from Petrograd or Stockholm, but from London; and you shall take your turn on the mat outside the door while labor is deciding what you shall do." It was a big bounce; but Mr. Henderson pulled it off. He delivered the war program of labor. The Prime Minister had to take it from his hand like a lamb. The French and Italian papers complimented him on his sensible submission. President Wilson patted him on the head and said "Good boy," making it clear that he, too, has not an item to add to the labor program. And

we are all trying to pretend that we said so all along.

LABOR'S GAGE OF BATTLE

But the missed point to be illuminated now is that most of this has been accomplished under an illusion. That illusion is that the war aims of the Labor Party are not war aims but peace terms. When it was known that Mr. Henderson was going simply to shove the Cabinet aside and take the war question into his own hands, the patriots changed their shriek of defeat into an even wilder one of immediate peace, which they always seem to believe can be made by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, or any other member of the Independent Labor Party, by lifting a finger. Now, if they wanted to defeat Mr. Henderson, there was one way of doing it, (if it could have been done at all after the way he had been insulted in his representative capacity;) and that way was to insist on what was the simple fact: namely, that his war aims meant from two to thirty years more fighting, as they involved not only an old-fashioned victory of British over German militarism, but a European victory of democracy over oligarchy and autocracy, and of socialism over competitive capitalism. But when your patriot's neck gets into a noose, he can always be depended on to draw it tighter by his terrified struggles. All the patriots bawled at the top of their voices that the labor war aims meant peace by negotiation, a German peace, an inconclusive peace, a dishonorable peace, all sorts of adjectives but ever the same substantive: peace, peace, peace, peace. And thereby they got Mr. Henderson out of his great difficulty, which was, how to pass a statement of war aims through a labor conference which was longing for peace. The effect of their misjudged but effective help was one of the funniest political farces of the time. When Mr. Stephen Walsh, a very formidable opponent, with a heavy card vote in his pocket, moved that the question be adjourned for a month, he was smashed by a single phrase from Mr. Robert Smillie: "You want another month of slaughter." After that, Mr. Walsh had not a dog's chance.

Mr. Ben Turner rose and said that he did not like the war aims, because there was too little of the Bible in them; but they made for peace, and he was for peace now, this instant. Almost his next sentence began "Our German friends." Mr. Turner came down on him with a trenchant repetition of his chivalrous Christian phrase, and steamrolled him amid thunderous plaudits. The war aims went through triumphantly, as peace terms. They have spread a hope of peace over our Christmas.

THE CHALLENGE

I am sorry to have to break the spell; but they are not peace terms. They are the gage of battle thrown at the feet of every Government in Europe, not excepting our own Foreign Office. In spite of the climb down that has occurred, they do not approach any terms that we could dictate to the Germans except as victors. The Labor Party itself climbed down from its position of August last by substituting a plebiscite for French conquest in the case of Alsace-Lorraine. Mr. Lloyd George, in swallowing the revised version, climbed down from the internationalization of Constantinople to leaving the Turk in possession of it. Mr. Wilson, who, in his reply to the Pope, had declared that if Germany did not democratize her Constitution the United States would smash her, climbed down with the words, "Neither do we presume to suggest to Germany any alteration or modification of her institutions."

These concessions seem so significant, and any sort of definite war aims must seem so clear and reasonable in contrast with the crude ravings they replace, that we are for the moment cheated into believing that the Germans must think them as moderate as they seem to us. Let us not deceive ourselves. Take three items from the labor war aims by way of sample.

1. The dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, decayed as it is, may appear a mere makeweight in Camberwell; it will be a matter of fighting jusqu'au bout in Constantinople.

2. Alsace-Lorraine is the very trophy of victory in the war between France and Germany, and the suggestion of a plebiscite does not altar that situation in the least; for what Frenchman with an ounce

of fight left in him would consent to such a plebiscite being taken until the German Army had evacuated the territory and left the inhabitants free to vote? It is hard enough for a Frenchman to consent even to a voluntary evacuation of the north of France; all the pugnacity and pride in him must cry out, "We shall not accept your offer to evacuate; you shall go as you came, fighting every inch of the way, or running."

3. The proposal of a league of nations protectorate for the African colonies does not touch those colonies which the Union of South Africa has taken; and we dare not ask General Smuts to give them back to Germany.

I could add to this list of fighting points; but these are enough. The Germans have replied that the terms are the terms dictated by a victor and that we are not victorious yet. And they are quite right. The sins of which this war is the punishment are not yet expiated either in Germany or here; and there is nothing for it but to set our teeth, tighten our belts, and go through with it.

Nevertheless, there are incalculable factors in the case. One is the revolt of the human conscience against war. When everything that can be said for war has been said a thousand times; when to the wretched plea that the distribution of our wealth was so bad, the condition of our people so poor, and our public sloth and carelessness so disastrous that an iron scourge was needed to drive us to do better, we add the less disgraceful claim that pride, honor, courage, and defiance of death flame up in war into a refiner's fire, yet nothing can conceal the blasting folly, the abominable wickedness, the cruelty and slavery with which war wreaks life's vengeance on those who will respond to no gentler or holier stimulus. In the midst of our stale paraphrases of the heroics of Henry V. our eye lights on some name of youthful promise in the roll of honor, and sees suddenly through the splendid mask of victory to the grinning skull beneath. It is this incalculable factor that makes the Russian revolution so formidable.

WAR AGAINST THRONE

Yet here again I must sorrowfully dispel the illusion that the Russian revolution makes for peace. Our patriots, always seizing the wrong end of the stick,

are in full cry against "a separate peace" by Russia. What they would dread if they had any grasp of the situation is a separate war by Russia: a fight to a finish not only with the German throne, but with all thrones; a war that will go on when the rest of the belligerents want to stop; a war that may develop into a blaze of civil wars in England, France, and Italy, with the Foreign Offices and Courts and capitalists fighting to restore the Czar, and the "proletarians of all lands" fighting to reproduce the Russian revolution in their own country. What has happened so far is a very old thing: the world has many times before seen the Kings of the earth rise up and the rulers take counsel together. But when peoples with new Bibles and new Jewish prophets do the same, there will be no more use for the middle-class ignorance that deals with such a danger by a refusal of passports to those who alone understand it. There is a war to be averted ten times more terrible than that war which we are told to get on with by fools who imagine that we have any choice in the matter, and

flick their little whips at the earth to make it go around the sun. Which of us would not stop the war tomorrow if he could? Which of us can?

For my own part I am a *Jusqu'aboutist*. I do not want this war to be compromised as long as it will be possible for any of the belligerent powers afterward to pretend that if it had only gone on for another year it would have won. If we win there will be such a surge of exultation throughout the country that every counsel of moderation or prudence will be swept away as irresistibly as Bismarck and the Socialists were swept away in 1871, when they asked their countrymen to spare Alsace-Lorraine. The same thing will happen in Germany if the Central Empires win. It is our business to see that they do not win. It is their business to see that we do not win. When both sides become convinced that neither of them can both win and survive the effort, then it will be time to talk of peace.

Until then, I shall not join the ranks of those kindly people who cry peace when there is no peace.

The Supreme War Council

Summary of the Third Session

The third session of the Allies' Supreme War Council was held at Versailles in the last days of January and the first days of February, 1918. The official statement of the proceedings, issued Feb. 3, follows:

MEETINGS of the third session of the Supreme War Council, held at Versailles, Jan. 30 and 31, Feb. 1 and 2:

In addition to the members of the Supreme War Council itself, namely, MM. Clemenceau and Pichon for France, Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Milner for Great Britain, Professor Orlando and Baron Sonnino for Italy, and the military representatives of the Supreme War Council, Generals Weygand, Wilson, Cadorna, and Bliss, there were also present for the greater part of the purely military discussions the French and British Chiefs of General Staff, Generals Foch and Rob-

ertson; the Italian Minister of War, General Alfieri, and the Commander in Chief of the western front, Pétain, Haig, and Pershing. A. H. Frazier, First Secretary of the United States Embassy at Paris, was present during the political discussions.

The decisions taken by the Supreme War Council in pursuance of this contingent embrace not only a general military policy to be carried out by the Allies in all the principal theatres of the war, but, more particularly, a closer and more effective co-ordination, under the council, of all the efforts of the powers engaged in the struggle against the Central Empires.

The functions of the council itself were enlarged and the principles of unity of policy and action initiated at Rapallo in November last received still further

concrete and practical development. On all these questions a complete agreement was arrived at after the fullest discussion with regard to both the policy to be pursued and to the measures for its execution.

Under the circumstances the Supreme War Council decided that the only immediate task before them lay in the prosecution of the war with the utmost vigor and the closest and most effective co-operation of the military effort of the Allies until such time as the pressure of that effort shall have brought about in the enemy Governments and peoples a change of temper which would justify the hope of the conclusion of peace on terms which would not involve the abandonment, in the face of an aggressive and unrepentent militarism, of all the principles of freedom, justice, and respect for the law of nations which the Allies are resolved to vindicate.

The Supreme War Council gave the most careful consideration to the recent utterances of the German Chancellor and the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, but was unable to find in them any real approximation to the moderate conditions laid down by all the allied Governments. This conviction was only deepened by the impression made by the contrast between the professed idealistic aims with which the Central Powers entered upon the present negotiations at Brest-Litovsk and their now openly disclosed plans of conquest and spoliation.

The Allies are united in heart and will, not by any hidden designs, but by their open resolve to defend civilization against an unscrupulous and brutal attempt at domination. This unanimity is confirmed by a unanimity no less complete both as regards the military policy to be pursued and as regards measures needed for its execution which will enable them to meet the violence of the enemy's onset with firm and quiet confidence, with the utmost energy, and with the knowledge that neither their strength nor their steadfastness can be shaken.

The splendid soldiers of our free democracies have won their place in history by their immeasurable valor and their

magnificent heroism, and the no less noble endurance with which our civilian populations are bearing their daily burden of trial and suffering testify to the strength of those principles of freedom which will crown the military success of the Allies with the glory of a great moral triumph.

NO GENERALISSIMO APPOINTED

The impression had gained some support that the War Council would appoint a Generalissimo, and it was rumored that General Foch would be placed in supreme command. Andrew Bonar Law, in the House of Commons Feb. 5, in reply to an inquiry, announced that no Generalissimo had been appointed.

It was announced at Washington the same day that "for the present no assent to any policy or declaration involving considerations other than those purely military will be given by any American representative sitting with the council until it has first been submitted to this Government and received its approval."

Commenting on the recent session of the Supreme War Council at Versailles, the Cologne Volkszeitung said:

A wild war fanfare is Versailles' only reply to the moderate statements of Count von Hertling and Count Czernin, which were inspired by the most sincere desire for peace.

The Rhenish Westphalian Gazette said:

The workmen of the Central Powers will be unable to avoid recognizing that the guilt for the continuance of the bloody struggle lies solely on our enemies.

The Cologne Gazette commented:

The Versailles declaration is the political bankruptcy of the Entente. While the Central Powers are building a new world with strong hands, the Entente persists in stark negation.

The Frankfurter Zeitung said:

The Entente has declared war anew. Peace by understanding can only be reached when a mind which speaks from Lord Lansdowne's words has gained the upper hand over the voice from Versailles. The Entente still is dominated by men professing to believe in a military victory for the Entente, and nothing remains but that we shall draw the conclusion from this fact. Germany does not fear another year or two of war, but the Entente must be punished for prolonging the world agony, when it is plain to everybody that peace is possible.

Strengthening the War Department

The Attack in Congress, Secretary Baker's Defense, and the New Plan of Reorganization

Popular criticism of defects in the conduct of our war preparations assumed definite form on Jan. 19, 1918, in the New York speech of Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, (a Democrat,) in which he charged that the War Department had "fallen down." This was followed by the introduction of bills in Congress aiming at drastic changes in the exercise of power in military affairs. President Wilson rallied to the support of his Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, and issued a rather severe reply to Senator Chamberlain. The latter, however, returned to the attack on Jan. 24 in the Senate, while the Senate Committee on Military Affairs began a series of hearings on the subject. Secretary Baker asked to be heard before this committee, and on Jan. 28 he furnished the climax of the inquiry, speaking four hours and a half in defense of his department. He answered Mr. Chamberlain's criticisms, explained many supposed shortcomings, gave information not previously made public, and ended with a summary of the War Department's work since the beginning of the war. This portion of his speech is here given practically in full. The other side of the case is represented under subheads that follow this article.

Secretary Baker's Summary of Work Done

NOW, gentlemen, about the plan of the war. It will be remembered that this war broke out in August, 1914. We went into it in April, 1917, so that for more than two and one-half years the war had been going on. It was not as though war had broken out between the United States and some country, each of them prior to that time having been at peace with one another and with everybody else, so that an immediate plan should be made in the United States for conducting war against its adversary; but we were coming into a war which had been going on for two and one-half years, in which the greatest military experts, all the inventive genius, all the industrial capacity of those greatest countries in the world, had for two and one-half years been solving the problem of what kind of war it was to be and where it was to be waged.

It was not a thing for us to decide where our theatre of war should be. The theatre of war was France. It was not for us to decide our line of communications. Our line of communications was across 3,000 miles of ocean—one end of it infested with submarines. It was not for us to decide whether we would have the

manoeuvring of large bodies of troops in the open. There lay the antagonists on opposite sides of No Man's Land in the trenches at a death grapple with one another. Our antagonist was on the other side of that line, and our problem was and is to get over there and get him.

It was not the problem of doing it our way and letting everybody else take care of himself. In the first place, we were going to fight in France, not on our own soil and not on our adversary's soil, and therefore at the very beginning it was obvious that the thing we had to do was not to map out an ideal plan of campaign, not to have the War College, with its speculative studies of Napoleon and everybody else, map out the theoretically best way to get at some other country, but it was the problem of studying the then existing situation and bringing the financial, the industrial, and the military strength of the United States into co-operation with that of Great Britain and France in the most immediate and effective way.

PROBLEM WITHOUT A PRECEDENT

That problem could not be decided here. I fancy in this audience there are men who have been in the trenches. The

altogether unprecedented character of that problem is the thing which every returning visitor tells us cannot be described in words, cannot be put down in reports; it is a thing so different from anything else that ever went on in the world, so vast in its desolation, so extraordinary in its uniqueness that it must be seen and studied on the ground in order to be comprehended at all.

It is easily imagined that we might have perfected an army over here and carried it across the ocean and found it wholly unadapted to its task, and it might well have been that the army that we sent over was just one thing that they did not need and that some other thing which we might have supplied would have been the thing essential to their success.

AID OF ALLIES' EXPERTS

So that from the very beginning it was not a question of abstract speculation here, but a question of study there to find out where our shoulder to the wheel could be put. They realized that. And so Great Britain sent over to us Mr. Balfour and General Bridges and a staff of experts. They came over here, and you saw Mr. Balfour in the House of Congress and at the White House and in public meetings at one place and another, but the group of experts whom they brought over with them you did not see much of, and yet they distributed themselves through the War Department, and their ordnance experts sat down with General Crozier, their supply experts with General Sharpe and his assistants, their strategists sat down with the Army War College, and all over this city there were these confidential groups exchanging information, telling how the thing was over there, what we could do, what they advised us to do, what experience they had had in developing this, that, and the other implement or supply, how certain plans which one might naturally have evolved out of the past experience of the world had been tried there and found not to work at all.

They were exchanging information, giving us all that they thought was helpful. And then came Joffre, with his wonderful reputation and his great and charming personality, and he made a great figure here and we welcomed him.

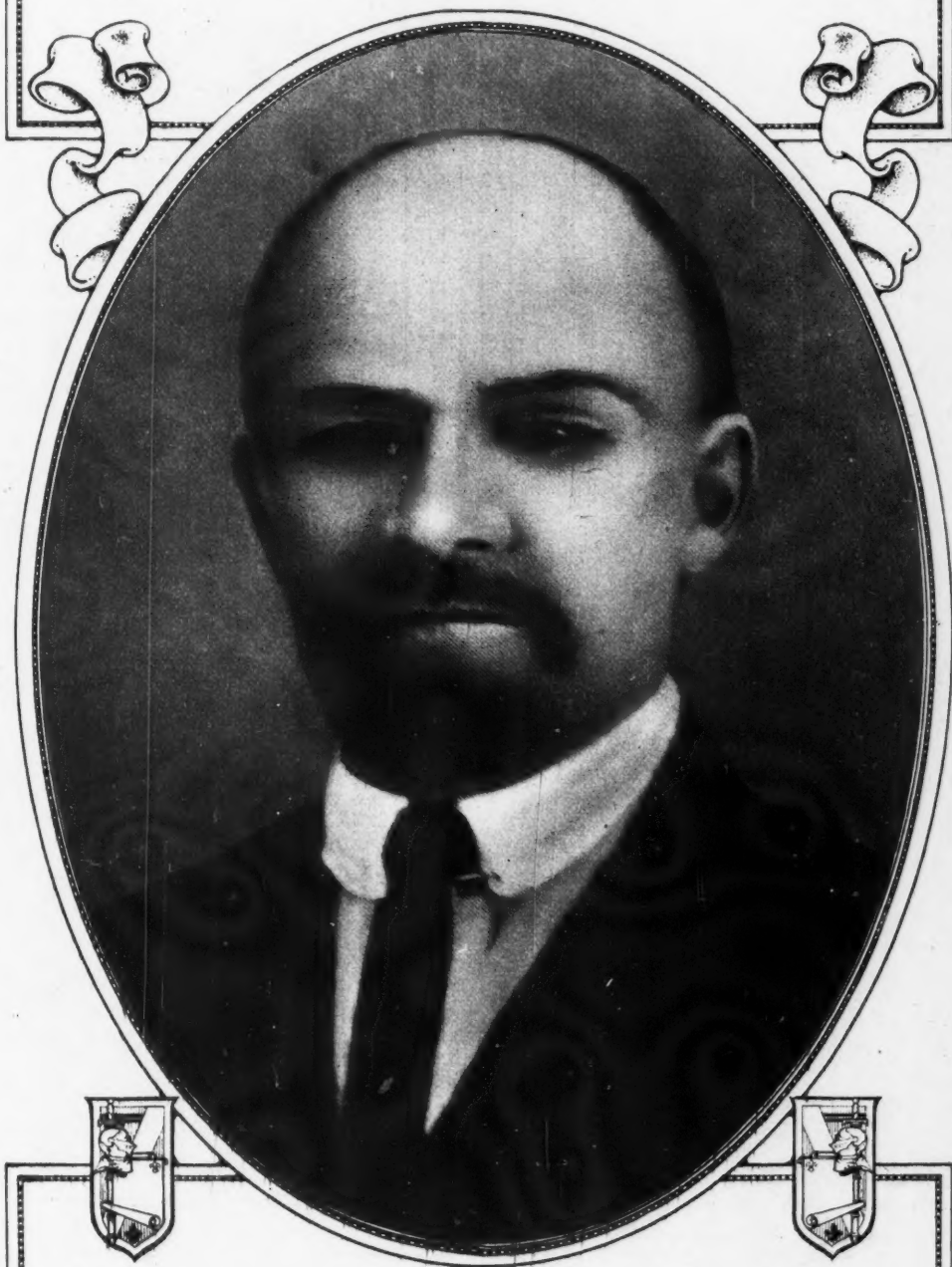
It was a tremendous inspiration to see the hero of the Marne. But with him came his unobserved staff of fifteen or twenty or twenty-five young men, the most brilliant men in the French Army—strategists, mechanical experts, experts in arms, experts in supplies, experts in industry and manufacture—and they told us not merely the formal and military problems, but they brought over with them men who were in from the beginning in their reorganizations of their industries, in their mobilization of their industrial plants, and we sat down with them in little groups until finally we collated and collected and extracted all the information which they could give us from their respective countries. And every country which has been brought into the war has sent us that sort of staff of experts, and it has been necessary to compare notes, and, with this as a basis, to form such an idea as might be formed of what was the thing for us to do over there.

But that was not enough. They admitted that it was impossible to draw that picture. They could describe to us and bring the specifications and drawings for a piece of artillery, but they could not tell us why the British theory of the use of artillery was by the British preferred to that of the French. They could not picture to us a barrage of heavy howitzers as compared to a barrage of 75-millimeter guns. They could not picture to us the association of airplanes, balloons and mobile aircraft, with artillery uses. They could tell us about it, but even while they told us the story grew old.

LIKENED TO MOVING PICTURE

The one thing they told us from the very beginning to the end was that this war, of all others, was not a static thing; that our adversary was a versatile and agile adversary; that every day he revamped and changed his weapons of attack and his methods of defense; that the stories they were telling us were true when they left England and France, but an entirely different thing was probably taking place there now, and they told us of large supplies of weapons of one kind and another which they had developed in France and England, and which even before they got them in sufficient quantity

NIKOLAI LENINE



Prime Minister of the Russian Government set up by the Bolsheviks
in Petrograd.

SOME OF THE BOLSHEVIST LEADERS



ENSIGN ABRAM KRYLENKO

Commander in Chief of the revolutionary armies.

(© Underwood & Underwood.)



M. JOFFEE

President of the Russian peace delegation at Brest-Litovsk.

(© Underwood & Underwood.)



MAXIM LITVINOFF

Appointed by the Bolshevik Cabinet as Ambassador in England.

(Central News Photo.)



ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY

Minister of Public Welfare in the Bolshevik Cabinet.

manufactured to take them from the industrial plants to the front were superseded by new ideas and had to be thrown into the scrapheap.

They said to us: This is a moving picture; it is something that nobody can paint and give you an idea of. It is not a static thing.

Therefore it became necessary for us to have eyes there in instant and immediate communication with us, and we sent over to France General Pershing, and we sent with him not merely a division of troops—to that I shall refer in a moment—but we sent with him perhaps I can safely say the major part of the trained, expert personnel of the army. You know the size of the official corps of the regular army in this country when the war broke out. It was a pitiful handful of trained men, and yet it was necessary to divide them up and send over to France officers of the highest quality, so that they would be at the front and in the workshops and in the factories and in the War Offices and in the armies, where consultations would take place immediately back of the front, so that they could see the thing with their own eyes and send us back the details by cable every day of the changing character of this war.

PERSHING'S STAFF OF EXPERTS

General Pershing's staff of experts and officers over there runs into the thousands, and they are busy every minute, and every day that the sun rises I get cablegrams from General Pershing from ten to sixteen and twenty pages long, filled with measurements and formulas and changes of a millimeter in size, great, long specifications of changes in details of things which were agreed upon last week and changed this week, and need to be changed again next week, so that what we are doing at this end is attempting by using the eyes of the army there to keep up to what they want us to do. * * *

So that if one gets the idea that this is the sort of war we used to have, or if he gets the idea that this is a static thing, it is an entirely erroneous idea, and when you remember that we had to divide this little handful of officers that we had and send so large a part of them to France, and then think of those who remained at

home, you will realize, I am sure, that those who remained here had the double duty, insufficient for either aspect of it, in numbers—and they still have this double duty—they had to go forward with manufacturers, work out industry and industrial relations; they had to see about supplies of raw materials and manufacture finished product, and make from day to day alterations and changes that had to be made, and they had to be ingenious with suggestions, to see whether they could devise on this side something which had not been thought of over there.

They had been hospitable to suggestions which came from the other side; they had to confer with the foreign officers who were here, who were constantly changed so that men fresh from the front could be here to advise with us, and, in addition to that, every one of them had to be a university professor, going out of the life of the community and selecting men who had mercantile experience and knowledge and training, but not military mechanical experience and knowledge and training, and adding to his original equipment the scientific training, that finishing touch which made him equipped for use as a military scientist.

SPECIAL DEPARTMENTS OF ARMY

As a consequence, this little group which stayed here has built the great special departments of the army. The Ordnance Department, starting, I think, with 93 or 96 officers, has now, as I recall the figures, something like 3,000 officers. They have had to be trained; they have had to be specialized, and that has had to go on contemporaneously with this tremendous response to the changing conditions on the other side in the meantime. When we started in this war, I think it was commonly thought throughout the country that our contribution at the outset might well be financial and industrial. The industries of this country were largely devoted at that time—the appropriate industries and many converted industries were largely devoted—to the manufacture of war materials for our allies.

As I suggested this morning, when we went into that market we found it largely occupied, so that our problem was not going to a shoe factory and saying, "Make

shoes for us," but it was going to a factory which never made shoes, because all the shoe factories were busy making shoes for people from whom we could not take them, and saying, "Learn how to make shoes in order that you may make them for us."

Now, of course, that is not true of shoes, but it is true of machine guns, it is true of other arms, it is true of ammunition, it is true of forging capacity, which was the greatest defect in the country, and all this time we had not merely not to disturb the program of allied manufacture in this country, but we had not to cut off the supplies of raw material to our allies, and we had not to disturb the industry of this country to such an extent that products upon which they depended for the success of their military operations would be interfered with, both agricultural and commercial and industrial products. * * *

OUR FORCES IN FRANCE

I tell no secret, but it is perfectly well known to everybody in this group that we have far exceeded what in August, 1917, was regarded as a program so ideal that the editor of a magazine refers to it as a thing which we ought to have strained every nerve in a vain but hopeless effort to accomplish. * * * Now, instead of having 50,000 or 100,000 men in France in 1917, we have many more than that in France, and, instead of having a half million men whom we could ship to France if we could find any way to do it in 1918, we will have more than a half million men in France early in 1918, and we have available to be shipped to France if the transportation facilities are available to us—and the prospect is not unpromising—one and a half million who in 1918 can be shipped to France. * * *

I am saying this now because you have asked me why I have held back these facts until now. I am saying to you that you could not get from Great Britain at this minute—I do not know whether I could get—the number of soldiers Great Britain has in France or at home. I could get an approximation. I could get whatever information might be deemed helpful to the immediate military objective to be accomplished, but I could not

get from Great Britain or France, either one, the actual number of troops they have at the front.

It may be that that precaution is unnecessary, and yet that is the precaution which military men have observed, and I have no further point to make in the matter of the number of troops there than to show, as I was showing when I read that extract, that our original intention was to make our military effort in 1918; and in August of 1917 a zealous advocate of immediate military activity laid down as the maximum obtainable program a thing which has since been multifold exceeded.

GENERAL JOFFRE'S INFLUENCE

Why did we decide to send some troops to France in 1917? It is no secret. When Marshal Joffre came to this country from France, when the British Mission came from France, they told us of a situation which we had not up to that time fully appreciated. There had been in France, recently conducted before that, an unsuccessful major offensive. The French people had suffered—oh, suffered in a way that not only our language is not adapted to describe, but our imagination cannot conceive. The war is in their country. The wolf has not only been at their door, but he had been gnawing for two years and a half at their vitals, and when this unsuccessful offensive in France had gone on there was a spirit, not of surrender but of fate, about the French people, and this mighty military engine which they had seen prepared to overcome them for forty years was at them, and their attitude was that no matter whether every Frenchman died in his tracks, as he was willing to do, or not, it was an irresistible thing, and so they said to us: "Frankly, it will cheer us; it will cheer our people, if you send over some of your troops."

We did send some troops. At that place we had a choice. We could have sent over, as Great Britain, our regular army, and in a very short preparation have put it into action, and suffered exactly what Great Britain suffered with her "contemptible little army," as it was called by its adversaries. Our army would have given as good an account of itself as the

British Army did, but it would have been destroyed like the British Army, and there would have been no nucleus on which to build this new army that was to come over a little later, and it was deemed wiser to send over a regular division, but not to send over our whole regular army at that time.

Then what happened was that that regular division went over, and the people of France kissed the hems of their garments as they marched up the streets of Paris; the old veterans, wounded in this war, legless or armless, stumping along on crutches, perhaps, as they went up the streets of Paris with their arms around the necks of the American soldiers. Not a single man in that division was unaccompanied by a veteran. America had gone to France, and the French people rose with a sense of gratitude and hopefulness that had never been in them before.

Of course they welcomed the British, but their need was not so great when the British went. Of course they welcomed the British, but there were ties between them and us which had not been between them and the British, and so when our troops went there was an instant and spontaneous rise in the morale of the French, but an equally instant and spontaneous insistence that these soldiers who came from America should continue to come in an unbroken stream.

OUR AID IN OTHER LINES

And so we made the election. We decided not to send the regular army as a whole, but to send regular divisions and National Guard divisions, selected according to the state of their preparation, and keep back here some part of our trained force in order that it might inoculate with its spirit and its training these raw levies which we were training. One after another these divisions have gone over until in France there is a fighting army, an army trained in the essentials and in the beginnings of military discipline and practice, and trained, seasoned fighters in this kind of a war on the actual battlefields where it is taking place.

Early in this war, when Joffre was here and when Balfour was here, they

said to us, "It may take you some time to get over to us a great fighting army, but you are a great industrial country. Our man power is fully engaged in our industries and in our military enterprises. Send over artisans, special engineering regiments, and troops of a technical character," and although it was not contemplated at the outset and only a phrase in the emergency military legislation shows that the thing was thought of as a possibility, yet in a very short time we had organized engineering regiments of railroad men and sent them over there and were rebuilding behind the lines of the British and French the railroads which were being carried forward with their advance, reconstructing their broken engines and cars, and building new railroads, back of both the French and British lines. Those regiments were of such quality that at the Cambrai assault, carried on by General Byng, when the Germans made their counterattack, our engineer regiments threw down their picks and shovels and carried their rifles into the battle and distinguished themselves by gallant action in the war itself.

Very early in this war, Great Britain, through Balfour and his assistants, and Joffre, said to us: "Send us nurses and doctors." Why, before we were scarcely in the war American units organized in advance and anticipation by the Red Cross, which was taken over into the service of the United States through the Surgeon General's office, were on the battlefield, and there are tens of thousands of men in England and in France now who bless for the mission of mercy the first Americans who appeared in France.

Our surgeons have set up hospitals immediately behind the lines. They have been made military in every sense of the word. They have not been especially fortunate in escaping attack from the air, and our early losses in this war were the losses of Red Cross nurses and doctors and orderlies and attendants in hospitals and ambulance drivers, who were sent over to assist our allies in these necessary services, thus not only rendering assistance, but acquiring skill and knowledge of the circumstances and surround-

ings, so that when our own troops came in large numbers they could render like services to our own forces.

PREPARATIONS ABROAD FOR TROOPS

But that was not enough. It was suggested that further groups of mechanics might be needed. Nay, we began to see that we were going to be over there in large force, and the question that then had to be answered was How will we maintain an army in France? Special studies had to be made of that problem, and this is what they showed.

They showed that the railroads and the facilities of France during this war had been kept in an excellent condition—far better than was supposed possible under the conditions. And yet they showed that those railroads were used to the maximum to take care of the needs of the French and the British themselves, and that when our army became a great army it would be necessary for us to build back of our own line an independent line of communication.

In other words, France was a white sheet of paper so far as we were concerned, and on that we had not only to write an army, but we had to write the means of maintaining that army. From the first time when a careful and scientific study of the opportunities of France to help us was made—from that hour until this we have been building in France facilities, instruments, agencies, just as many as we have here in the United States, and more—many of them of the same character. For instance, the French had naturally reserved the best ports in France for their own supply. The Channel ports have been reserved for the British. When we came in it was necessary for us to have independent ports of entry in order that there might not be confusion and a mixture of our supplies going through these ports of disembarkation with those of other nations.

We were given several ports. As you perhaps recall, the ports of France are tidal ports—ports with deep water and tidal basins at high tides, with insufficient water for landing at the docks when the tide is out.

As a consequence, the construction of docks and wharves for tidal basins in

ports of that kind is very much more difficult than where you have a deep-sea harbor, and all you need to do is to erect a pile wharf. We have had to build docks, we have had to fabricate in this country and send over dock-handling machinery; we have had to send from this country even the piles to build the docks. We have had to have cranes manufactured in this country and sent over to be erected on those docks. We have had to erect over there warehouses at the ports of disembarkation in order that these vast accumulations of stores and supplies which go over can be properly housed and cared for, until they can be distributed into the interior.

REBUILDING 600-MILE RAILROAD

We have had to take over, and are in process of rebuilding and amplifying a railroad 600 miles long, in order to carry our products from our ports of disembarkation to our general bases of operation. And all of that, gentlemen, has to be done, not only studied out, as a necessary thing to do, but when so studied out and reported here, the manufacture of those things has to be carried out in this country, and the things shipped over there—nails, cross-ties, spikes, fishplates, engines, cars, buildings. We have had to build ordnance depots and repair shops and great magazines of supply in the interior.

All of that problem has been carrying forward step by step the plans for a single ordnance repair shop, which I saw some time ago. It covered acres and acres of ground, designed over here, the iron work fabricated over here, disassembled, put in ships and carried abroad to be reassembled over there.

We have had to build barracks over there for our soldiers, and in the meantime to billet them around in the French villages. Building barracks over there and building them here is a very different thing, gentlemen.

HUGE TASKS IN FRANCE

When we summoned the lumber industry of this country to produce the lumber to build our own cantonments it came in a great and steady stream from all over the country; but when we talk about building barracks in France it means

this: It means to organize, as we have organized, regiments of foresters, and sending them over into the forests of France which they have assigned to us for our use, cutting down the trees, setting up sawmills, making the lumber of various sizes, transporting it to the places where it is to be used, and then finally using it.

We have had to go back to the planting of the corn in France, in order that we might some time make a harvest. Our operations began in the forests of France, not in the lumber yards, as they did in this country.

That great staff under General Pershing's direction, containing so many men from the American Army, enriched by captains of industry and masters of technical performances in this country; all of these large industrial operations under general direction, such as the railroads and dock buildings, under a former Vice President and now a Vice President, perhaps, of the Pennsylvania Railroad—Atterbury—and men of that quality and extensive as those which are carried on those are the men who are carrying forward these operations, which are quite as expensive as those which are carried on over here, and of far greater difficulty, because it means getting material by cable as to sizes and specifications, having it fabricated here and sent across through those infested 3,000 miles of ocean, and then set up on that side.

HOSPITALS IN FRANCE

In addition to that, on the other side, it has been necessary for us to build hospitals, and that is where the major need for hospitals may be. It has been necessary for the Surgeon General's staff to be divided in this fashion and to select supplies and procure materials and to send over staffs of trained persons to supervise the construction of those hospitals and to man them and equip them. All of that has gone on contemporaneously with the work which has been done in this country; and then in order that another element may be added to this kaleidoscopic character which this war necessarily has, I call your attention to a thing which you already know. This war had a more or less set character until the Russian situation changed, as

it has changed. In the last few months, when we had gotten more or less used to the situation created by the uncertainty as to Russia, there came the great Italian defeat, which called for even greater changes in our plans in many ways.

So that what might have been a perfectly acceptable plan as to major operations prior to the change in the Russian situation, or prior to the change in the Italian situation, had to be restudied instantly, and for that reason, among others, there is now organized, as you know in France, pursuant to the suggestion of Mr. Lloyd George, the Rapallo Conference, or the Supreme War Council, and the United States is represented on that by the Chief of Staff of the American Army, and the major international arrangements in regard to the military are working out there, while General Pershing and his staff of experts are working out these other questions.

That is a picture of what has been going on over there, gentlemen.

AN ARMY OF 1,500,000 MEN

On this side much of that has had to be done, and, in addition to it, all the things we have done; and I ask you to remember among the achievements on this side is the building of this army, not of 50,000 or 100,000 or 500,000, but of substantially 1,500,000 men.

And now, let me be frank with you, and let your judgment be frank with me about this. Has any army in history ever, since the beginning of time, been so raised and cared for as this army has? Can the picture be duplicated? We have raised this army, taking the regular army and the National Guard, raising it to war strength and supplementing it by the operation of a draft, and there are Senators in this room who said to me with grief when we proposed that that form of raising the soldiers be had—they shook their heads and said: "Mr. Secretary, it can't be done. It is too sudden to address to the American people that mode of selecting soldiers." And yet, has any great enterprise within the knowledge of any man in this room ever been carried out with more unflinching justice, with more intelligent legislation and commendation to the good

sense and patriotism of the American people, and has any great and revolutionary change in our mode of practice ever been accepted so splendidly as the operation of the selective service system?

We have got those young men in camp, and they are surrounded, from the day they left home until the day they come back to it, if in God's providence they can come back, with more agencies for their protection and comfort and health and happiness, physical, spiritual, and mental, than any army that ever went out on a field.

They are classified by a system, so that men who have mechanical instincts and training will be given mechanical opportunities in the army. The "round" man is not sought to be put into the "square" place. The American people has subscribed liberally for the purpose. The Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Training Camp Activities Committee, the Training Camp Athletic Committee, have all been brought in—and the Red Cross—have all been brought into line with the soldiers; and by virtue of activities started in the War Department the communities which surround these camps have been instantly got away from the notion which used to prevail of a certain alienation between a civilian and soldier group, and these soldier boys in these camps have been adopted into the homes and hearts of the people among whom they live. No such relation has ever existed between an army and a civilian population as exists with regard to this.

INTEMPERANCE CHECKED

And then, with your aid, the army has been able to practically stamp out intemperance and vice among the soldiers by the establishment of zones, by the establishment of patrol systems of one kind and another. By the training of these young officers in these training camps— young men of experience and fine feeling and all that—we have got into this great army the idea that it can be a strong and effective military army and still be free from things which have hitherto weakened and sapped the vitality and virility of armies.

I have gone from camp to camp among these cantonments, and my first question almost invariably is to the camp commander: "What about your disciplinary problem?"

Old men in the army, men whose lives have been spent in it from their boyhood and who have been all over the continental United States and through its insular possessions, wherever our armies have been, who know the life of the soldier and the camp and the post, all say with one accord and no exception that they have never seen anything like this; that the disciplinary problems of the army are reduced to a negligible quantity, and instead of the melancholy and pathetic parade through the Secretary of War's office of court-martial after court-martial of men who have fallen down and yielded to temptation under the unusual circumstances which used to obtain, I have an infrequent case now of court-martial by reason of such weaknesses.

GERMAN GOVERNMENT'S VIEW

I happen to have a copy of a confidential instruction issued by the German Government in June, 1917, to the German press as to what course they should take in dealing with American matters, and it says:

While the news about American war preparations, such as the organizing and outfitting of an army of 1,000,000 men strong to reinforce the French-English front, is looked upon in that form as bluff, the spreading of which may unfavorably affect the opinion of the German people, yet the fact must not be overlooked, on the other hand, that the United States, with the support of its capacity for material and industrial management, is arming itself for war with great energy and tenacity.

Your committee will have full opportunity and will doubtless go into these things. If you will deal with the hospital situation, the Medical Corps, the Signal Corps, you will hear of the wonderful work done by the Engineering Department of the army; but when it is all told, Mr. Chairman, it will be a story which I am sure your committee will be glad to report to the Senate of the United States as being a tremendous response to a tremendous responsibility, and when you have this investigation I know that

the American people will feel, as I think they have a right to feel, that we are in this war to win it; that we are in it to hit, and hit hard; that we are in it to co-ordinate our strength with that of our associates; that the problem is not one of individual star playing, but of team play with these veterans and experienced persons under actual battle conditions; that more has been done, perhaps, than the country expected—more than the wisest in the country thought was possible to do.

WILL FIGHT LIKE VETERANS

In so far as I am personally concerned, I know what is ahead of us. I know what the American feeling about this war is. Everybody is impatient to do as much as we can. There will be no division of counsel; there will be all the criticism there ought to be upon shortcomings and failures; there will be,

so far as the War Department is concerned, a continuing effort at self-improvement and hospitality toward every suggestion for improvement that can come from the outside. But the net result is going to be that a united and confident American people, believing in themselves and in their institutions, are going to show, and that at no late date, on European battlefields, in the face of veterans with whom they are proud to associate, that, veterans though they be, they cannot excel us in achievement; and when the victory is won over there, Mr. Chairman, the credit which will come to American enterprise and to American determination and to American courage will be an honor to us, as the tenacity of purpose and splendid achievements of the British and French have already shed great lustre on the names of those great peoples.

Senator Chamberlain's Charges

Replies by Secretary Baker

THE foregoing speech, as stated, was the culmination of the first serious political criticism of the Administration's conduct of the war. The movement had taken concrete form on Jan. 19, 1918, in the New York speech of Senator George E. Chamberlain of Oregon, in which he had declared that the military establishment of America had "fallen down." The next day the Senate Military Committee, of which he was Chairman, introduced two bills, one to create a Minister of Munitions, the other to create a War Cabinet of three, which should have power to control war operations independently of the Secretaries of War and the Navy.

President Wilson replied sharply to Senator Chamberlain in a statement quoted in these pages a month ago, and declared that he would exert his full power to defeat the measures in question. On Jan. 24 Senator Chamberlain repeated his attack in a three-hour speech in the Senate, charging that the United States troops were without ordnance and were insufficiently supplied with rifles; that

the cantonments were suffering from a shortage of clothing and were without adequate hospital facilities, and that many of the deaths from illness could have been avoided. He read several pathetic letters to substantiate the latter point.

Surgeon General Gorgas appeared the next day before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, and in the course of a long hearing confirmed some of the deficiencies from which the men in the camps were suffering. The cantonments had not all been ready when the men were sent to them, and the Government in its haste to send men to France, said General Gorgas, had sent many to their death through overcrowding in the cantonments and inadequate hospital facilities. Hospitals were not built as promptly as the cantonment buildings. The navy, which was to bring home the sick and wounded from France, still had only three hospital ships.

Secretary Baker on Jan. 25 replied to one phase of the storm of criticism by appointing Edward R. Stettinius, a member

of J. P. Morgan & Co., as Surveyor General of all army purchases. At the same time he made a formal request to be heard before the Senate committee, and on the 28th talked for four hours and a half in defense of his department. While not denying that there had been delays, mistakes, shortcomings, and false starts, Mr. Baker said that where these had appeared they had not been repeated, and the remedy had been applied as promptly as possible.

To Senator Chamberlain's charges regarding hospital neglect Secretary Baker replied at great length, seeking to show that the initial shortcomings of the cantonment hospital service were inevitable in the circumstances. He stated that in an army of more than a million men there had been only eighty reports of abuses to soldiers in hospitals.

DECISION AS TO RIFLES

One of the first questions the War Department had to decide after the declaration of hostilities was that of rifles and their calibre. The British were using one kind of rifle, the French another, while the Americans had admittedly the best rifle thus far developed—the Springfield—using a rimless cartridge different from both the British and the French. There were about 600,000 of these rifles in stock, and about 100,000 Krag's.

On the last day of May a conference at the War Office decided on the course to be adopted. There were present at that conference General Crozier, the Chief of Ordnance; General Scott, the Chief of Staff; General Bliss, the Assistant Chief of Staff; General Kuhn, the Chief of the Army War College, and one or two other officers associated with the War College, the Ordnance Department, experts on the subject of rifles, and General Pershing.

At the beginning of the war the British Government had been in the act of changing to the American model with rimless cartridges, but the sudden emergency had compelled it to continue with its old Enfield rifle. This fact, Mr. Baker said, had modified our own course. After considering every aspect of the case, the War Office conference had de-

cided to use our own Springfield rifle and procure a modification of the Enfield which would allow it to be chambered for American ammunition, in order to get the advantage of the large and organized manufacturing facilities already built up in this country for the making of Enfield rifles. The decision made that night, said Mr. Baker, had the unanimous concurrence of every person in the conference, including General Pershing.

As to machine guns, the Secretary said that his course had been guided by the experience of France, which had obtained the best results from the light Chauchat guns and the Hotchkiss machine guns, and which had limited the Lewis gun to use in aircraft. As our troops had to fight beside the French, it was better for them to have the same weapons. Mr. Baker added that the French Government was able to supply machine guns to our troops during 1918 as fast as the men could be sent to France. Meanwhile our own manufacturers are instructed to push forward preparations for making machine guns in quantity as soon as possible.

REGARDING HEAVY ORDNANCE

The heavy ordnance for our troops this year, Mr. Baker said, would be furnished by France and England. Though General Crozier had urged Congress continuously ever since 1906 to provide for the manufacture of cannon, nothing had been done, and at best no large order could be filled in less than a year. France, through M. Tardieu, in a conference with General Crozier on July 14, 1917, had entered into a willing agreement to furnish ordnance for our troops at the front. The weapons furnished would be the 75-millimeter field guns and the 155-millimeter rapid-fire howitzers. Mr. Baker stated that this plan had two advantages: it saved valuable ocean tonnage, and it helped France by keeping her skilled workmen employed. Great Britain in like manner was equipped to furnish munitions, and General Bliss, after the visit of the House mission to Paris, had telegraphed in December:

The representatives of Great Britain and France state that their production of ar-

tillery—field, medium, and heavy—is now established on so large a scale that they are able to equip completely all American divisions as they arrive in France during the year 1918 with the best make of British and French guns and howitzers. With a view, therefore, to expedite and facilitate the equipment of the American armies in France, and, second, to securing the maximum ultimate development of the munitions supply with the minimum strain upon available tonnage, the representatives of Great Britain and France propose that the field, medium, and heavy artillery be supplied during 1918, and as long after as may be found convenient, from British and French gun factories.

Mr. Baker stated that the British or-

ders for ammunition in the United States in the first three years of the war aggregated \$1,308,000,000. On the other hand, the United States ordered 63,000,000 shells in Great Britain from May to December, 1917, costing a billion dollars, while orders for cannon brought our total to \$1,500,000,000 in seven months.

The statement that early in 1918 we would have 500,000 men on the fighting front in France, with 1,000,000 more ready to go whenever ships were ready to take them, will be found in the portion of Secretary Baker's speech which is printed verbatim in the preceding pages.

The Administration's Shortcomings

Attack by Senator Hitchcock

SENATOR GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK (Dem.) of Nebraska attacked the Administration on Feb. 4, 1918, on the ground that it had failed to co-ordinate the war activities of the nation. His speech in the Senate was three hours long, and was the first in the fight for the passage of the two bills to create a Director of Munitions and a War Cabinet. In the course of his argument for these bills Mr. Hitchcock summarized the Government's shortcomings in the conduct of the war as follows:

"Nine months after we entered the war and three months after our men were gathered in cantonments we found in the dead of Winter tens of thousands of men without overcoats, tens of thousands lacking woolen breeches, tens of thousands without woolen blouses, and other serious shortages. We found most of the machine-gun companies unable to drill two months after they were formed because they had no machine guns. Even in December we found 1,200 still kept in storage for some foolish and inexplicable reasons, while each camp had only been supplied with eighty machine guns.

"We found hundreds of thousands of men drilling with wooden sticks for weeks and months because of mistakes and delays in ordering rifles last Spring. We found men sent to France without opportunity for rifle or machine-gun practice.

We found a distressing amount of sickness in most camps and an unnecessary mortality, due to lack of clothing and to overcrowding. The overcrowding we found due to a failure to provide an adequate number of tents. We found camp hospitals without drainage, plumbing, or heat, and sick men without nurses.

"We found that we must depend on overworked and overstrained France for machine guns for ground use until nearly the end of this year, and that not over one-tenth of the new Browning machine guns on which we are to rely can be delivered before August. We found that the first heavy artillery of American make cannot be received till July, and not much before 1919 can we expect to use in France American heavy artillery in any great quantity. What we get before this Fall we must buy from England.

"We found that we are only now, nine months after entering the war, just beginning work on two great powder plants, to cost \$60,000,000, although it was evident last Summer that we must have a million pounds a day more powder than America can now manufacture. We cannot get powder from these plants before next August.

"We found that, though the Medical Department asked for hospital ships last July, they have not yet been ordered, though sick and wounded men are now

already beginning to come home, and it will take three months to equip the ships.

"I do not deny that we also found much that was creditable and satisfactory. The task undertaken was a huge one, and much of the work has been ably done. Personally, I know that some of the War Department officials who have been most severely criticised have worked desperately hard. This comment covers the Secretary of War himself, who has had a burden of detail which has kept him at his office all day and far into the night most of the time. These considerations lead me to hold a defective organization responsible for the shortcomings to a greater degree than any individual or group of individuals."

Senator Hitchcock contended that a high-class business man as Director of Munitions was needed to cut red tape and bring order out of disorder. A West Point education, he said, made good soldiers, but did not fit men to buy for the army. He cited specific errors in the ordering of army supplies.

"TRANSPORTATION A WRECK"

During his argument for a War Cabinet Mr. Hitchcock recited the shortcomings of the railroads and the delays of the Shipping Board:

"It is not too much to say that the great transportation system of the United States has broken down. It is a gigantic wreck today; even travel has become difficult. Freight shipments are demoralized to such an extent as the country has never known anything of.

"Anticipating trouble of this sort, Congress authorized the control of shipments, and the granting of priority of shipments became one of the functions of Government. How was it exercised? It was so exercised that on some of the most important roads priority orders for shipments were given to 80 per cent. of the freight, and instead of having facilitated important shipments priority orders became the cause of the utmost confusion. Every department of Government, apparently, from the smallest Quartermaster's clerk up to the highest official, was permitted to blue-tag Government shipments and give them priority, regardless of whether there was

any hurry for their transportation or not. There was no one to co-ordinate, no one to differentiate, no one to select, and the great mass of Government shipments was permitted to clog the channels of transportation. Anchors for ships not yet built were rushed to their places of destination months before they could possibly be used. Hundreds of carloads of piles for construction work were rushed across the country and allowed to remain upon the cars for weeks, because the time had not yet come to use them. There was no supreme power, apparently, to limit the enormous and dangerous control of priority shipments, and the whole transportation system of the country was thrown into confusion.

"Take the matter of contracts for production. Obviously, in contracting for production of supplies for Europe, some sort of regard should have been had for the capacity of our ships to take them. Yet various bureaus have rushed production in factories to an enormous extent until there are now piled up on the docks of a few great harbors 2,000,000 tons or more of freight awaiting shipment, and every day adds to the mass and makes the confusion more confounded. Here again there has been no power to co-ordinate between production and transportation across the Atlantic. Now we must begin to curtail production.

THE FUEL FAMINE

"Take the matter of the Fuel Administration. Congress authorized the control of the fuel of the country, and an attempt was made to control prices, supply, and distribution, but it has apparently been made without any successful effort to co-ordinate the work with other functions of the Government.

"Today we have a fuel famine in the country, not because we lack productive mines, but because they have not been permitted to operate. Lack of knowledge, lack of transportation, and lack of harmony between the Fuel Administration and other functions of the Government are the causes of the breakdown. * * * The Fuel Administration, like the Food Administration, the War Industries Board, the Raw Materials Board, the Priority of Shipments Board, the Shipping Board, the Aircraft Production

Board, and all of the other boards, was running an independent course. Its activities were not focused with the other activities at any point. Its decisions were reached and its orders were made practically as though the others did not exist.

SHIPPING BOARD DELAYS

"Take the Shipping Board. That was on authority of law created nearly a year and a half ago, in the Fall of 1916, months before we got into the war. It has been running as an independent branch of the Government, co-ordinating with nothing else whatever. For months it was more than a dismal failure—it was a farce, and almost a crime.

"Even since it got into more vigorous operation it has been enormously handicapped and embarrassed because there has been little or no co-ordination of its energies and operations with the energies and operations of other branches. It has needed materials, it has needed labor, and every effort should have been made to get the materials and get the labor supply in priority over every other activity of Government.

"It is a matter of common report, however, that enormous delays have occurred in our shipyards because of their failure to receive materials as well as because labor has been diverted in other directions. I have been told on what I deem reliable authority that 1,000 carloads of ship plates, made for the Shipping Board, loaded upon cars at the place of manufacture, were lost in the congestion of freight for a month at a time while the shipyards waited anxiously for their arrival.

"Production of war materials for Europe has been rushed to completion in factories by labor which should have been employed in building ships, and would have been if we had a War Cabinet to survey the whole field and balance production and transportation. Now we have the products filling every warehouse, sidetrack, and dock without the ships to carry them.

"The present condition of our shipbuilding is nothing less than shocking.

The present supply of shipping is worse than alarming. I am afraid to go too deeply into figures, for one might be charged with giving information of value to the enemy were one to tell the truth about the present supply of shipping.

"All who are informed as to the present supply of our shipping were thunderstruck at the statements of Secretary Baker before the Military Affairs Committee. His sanguine predictions as to our ability to ship men to Europe and to supply them when there are exaggerations of the wildest sort.

NO HOUSES FOR WORKMEN

"Another feature of the ship construction program is discouraging, and that is the failure of anybody to provide housing facilities for men who are necessary to build the ships. When the plans were made to construct hundreds of ships at high speed at various places along the coast, enormous contracts were let for the purpose and plans made on a vast scale. The Shipping Board in the past seemed to feel that all it had to do was to let the contracts or order the ships' construction. Now it has awakened to the fact that the plans cannot be carried out without the expenditure of millions of dollars in providing housing accommodations for the tens of thousands of men that are to be drawn together at the shipyards. This means more delay."

Senator Wadsworth of New York, a Republican, spoke in the same vein on Feb. 5, declaring that America was groping instead of progressing under an effective, co-ordinated war plan. The following day Secretary Baker was again called before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs for several hours of cross-examination. On Feb. 7 Representative Carter Glass of Virginia defended the Administration in a long speech in the House, counterattacking Senator Chamberlain's charges as foolish and harmful, and ascribing the shortcomings of the hour to the nation's former policy of unpreparedness, for which the present critics were as responsible as any one else.

Reorganization of the War Department

AS a result of the agitation for greater efficiency, a thoroughgoing reorganization of the War Department was outlined in an order issued by Secretary Baker on Feb. 10, 1918, directing the Chief of the General Staff to establish five divisions of the General Staff as follows:

1. An Executive Division under an executive assistant to the Chief of Staff.
2. A War Plans Division under a Director.
3. A Purchase and Supply Division under a Director.
4. A Storage and Traffic Division under a Director.
5. An Army Operations Division under a Director.

The Directors of all divisions were to be assistants to the Chief of Staff. Chiefs of all bureaus, corps, and other agencies of the military establishment were instructed to communicate directly with the heads of the staff divisions upon matters as to which the latter have control, and the division heads were authorized to act for the Secretary of War and Chief of Staff in such matters.

Secretary Baker's order emphasized the authority of the Chief of Staff, who, with the War Council, is the immediate adviser of the Secretary in all questions relating to the military establishment. "The planning of the army program in its entirety," the order said, "the constant development thereof in its larger aspects, and the relation of this program to the General Staff and the entire army will be the duty of the Chief of Staff and the War Council."

The duties of the Director of the Purchase and Supply Division were set forth in great detail and appear to have been so defined as to meet the complaints made by members of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, who directed their criticisms very largely against the army purchasing system as supervised by the Council of National Defense. The scope of the Purchase and Supply Division was defined as follows:

This division shall have cognizance of and supervision over supplies required for the use of the army, under an officer designated as the Director of Purchases and

Supplies, who shall be an assistant to the Chief of Staff. The duties of this division shall include the following matter:

1. The supervision and direction of all purchase, procurement, and production activities of the several bureaus, corps, and other agencies of the War Department.
2. The co-ordination and correlation of the purchase and the procurement activities of the several bureaus, corps, and other agencies of the War Department.
3. The representing of the army in all arrangements for co-ordinating the purchase and procurement activities of the several bureaus, corps, and agencies of the War Department with other agencies of the Government and with the Allies.
4. The determination of purchasing and manufacturing priorities between the several bureaus, corps, and other agencies within the War Department and in relation to other agencies of the Government, and also the determination of preference to be afforded to contractors for supplies in the matter of shortage of fuel, power, and raw materials.
5. The supervision and co-ordination of all appropriations, estimates, and requirements and other financial matters relating to the purchase of munitions and all other supplies.
6. There shall be in the Purchase and Supply Division the office of Surveyor General of Supplies under an officer or a civilian.

It shall be the duty of the Surveyor General of Supplies to provide that all arrangements for the purchase, procurement, and production of all munitions and other supplies for the use of the army shall be so correlated and otherwise scheduled as most effectually to forward the army program and most advantageously utilize the industrial resources of the country.

A preliminary step to the reorganization of the army purchasing system was the appointment on Jan. 25 of Edward R. Stettinius, a member of J. P. Morgan & Co., as Surveyor General of all army purchases. For nearly two years prior to April 1, 1917, Mr. Stettinius had spent \$100,000,000 a month as head of the export department of his banking house, and he was virtually the purchasing agent of the Allies in this country. At the start of the war the Allies were unprepared to purchase the materials they required from this country, and there grew up a band of prof-

iteers who made enormous profits, until the Allies decided to centre their buying in London, and the Morgan firm was named fiscal agent of the Entente in America. The Morgan business had no department peculiarly fitted to handle the enormous purchasing task. Mr. Morgan, in search of a man to organize and direct this important branch of his business, selected Mr. Stettinius, then President of the Diamond Match Company. A year later he became a partner in J. P. Morgan & Co. When the United States entered the war the opinion was expressed both by Mr. Morgan and the Washington authorities that the American Government should do the purchasing for the Allies here. When this arrangement was put into effect Mr. Stettinius turned to other branches of the Morgan business.

Mr. Stettinius is a native of St. Louis, a college graduate, and, before becoming prominent in the match business, was a stockholder. He is 52 years old.

Major Gen. Peyton C. March, it was

announced on Feb. 6, was appointed Acting Chief of the General Staff, while General Bliss, Chief of Staff, then in France, was to continue on furlough as American military representative on the Interallied War Council. General March, at the time of his appointment, was Chief of Artillery under General Pershing in France. During the absence abroad of both Bliss and March, Major Gen. John Biddle was Acting Chief, and on General March's return to Washington became Assistant Chief of Staff to General March.

General March was born in Pennsylvania on Dec. 27, 1864, graduated from Lafayette College, where his father was a professor, and after serving as an artillery officer for fifteen years was appointed to the General Staff. He saw service on the Mexican border before returning to Washington in the Spring of 1917 to receive his orders to proceed to France as Chief of Artillery for the expeditionary forces.

What America Has Done for France

Statement by André Tardieu

French High Commissioner to the United States

Captain Tardieu, whose genius has arranged the complicated economic relations between France and the United States since our entry into the war, delivered the principal address on Feb. 6, 1918, at a dinner given in New York by the Alliance Française to celebrate the one hundred and fortieth anniversary of the signing of the treaty of alliance between France and the young American Republic in 1778. The celebration, which was only one of 188 held by branches of the Alliance Française in the United States and Canada, was attended by Ambassador Jusserand and other officials of the French Diplomatic Service, as well as by officers of the French and American Armies. In the course of his speech Captain Tardieu gave this interesting summary of facts:

WHAT we have suffered you know. Nearly 20,000 square kilometers of our country, the richest and the most productive, are in the hands of the enemy. Our population, diminished by the invasion of our northern territory, amounts only to 35,000,000 inhabitants. A little over 1,000,000 have been killed in battle, nearly 1,000,000 have been maimed and definitely invalidated out of the war. Would you care to know the present strength of the French Army? Listen:

Officers and soldiers mobilized on Jan.

1, 1918, not including the native troops from the colonies and the workmen in the factories, amount to 4,725,000 men, of whom nearly 3,000,000 are in the army zone.

That is the number; do you wish to judge of their quality? The extent of the western front is 755 kilometers. Belgians hold 25, English 165, French 565. We hold, therefore, three-quarters of it. We have in front of us eighty German divisions; that means two-thirds of the German first-line troops and more than

half of the German reserve divisions. The Germans do not intrust to any one of their divisions a front larger than six kilometers; ours often hold nine kilometers each.

Americans who leave for France, these figures tell you what you will find over there: a country which has terribly suffered, but hardened to war and made greater by its sufferings; a country where our men in the line, thanks to the prodigious intensity of our mobilization, are more numerous than in 1914, a country which is neither unnerved, exhausted, nor bled white, a country which wants to vanquish and has the intent to vanquish.

Some more figures, if you please! What about our guns? We have in the line 15,000 guns of every calibre, and every day more than 300,000 shells are turned out by our factories. To get those guns, to produce those shells, we created an industry which did not exist before the war, and which has enabled us not only to arm ourselves, but also to arm our allies.

Without speaking of what we manufacture for you, and that is several hundred guns a month, we have during the last three years given to our allies in Europe 1,350,000 rifles, 15,000 automatic rifles, 10,000 machine guns, 800,000,000 cartridges, 2,500 guns, and 4,750 airplanes.

And the day when faithful Italy found herself in peril—a peril which is now averted—within a few hours we brought to her front the troops which prove the unbreakable brotherhood of our alliance.

Gentlemen, that is France, such as you must know her, you whose children are already fighting on her soil. Such is France, who for three years has awaited you, certain that you would come. You have come. How are you standing now? What have you done to prepare the immense effort which is imposed upon you? That is the second question which I would like to consider tonight.

This question, you know, I am in a good position to answer, as I have co-operated for nearly ten months, hour by hour, with every part of your war organization. This question I am answering at once with one sentence, with one word. What you have done is magnificent, worthy of your allies, worthy of yourselves.

To take a right view of the work you have achieved one must trace back the last few years. What was at that time the American gospel? No war risks; no mixing in European conflicts; no compulsory military service; a very small army; a minimum of Federal legislation, leaving to local communities and to the individual a maximum of liberty. Within a few months, within a few weeks, war, which German imperialism imposed upon you, as it had imposed it upon us three years ago, compelled you to modify your ideas, your laws, your ethics, and to arm yourselves for the battle.

First, the American Army. To recruit it, in spite of the reluctance caused by a century-old tradition, you did not recoil before the radical measure of draft. In less than a month the decision was taken. With the co-operation of a national discipline which never gave way, the draft has been enforced on the whole territory without any trouble. No event of wider import has ever taken place since the beginning of war.

In April, 1917, you had 9,524 officers and 202,510 men. You have now 110,000 officers and 1,500,000 men, and the number of your men in France at the present moment is notably in excess of the establishment of your army nine months ago.

To equip this army with guns and airplanes, you called upon your allies for the supply of your immediate needs, and you started simultaneously a program of American manufacturing. Some people, in Europe as well as here, have been wondering why you should not, in that respect, have done everything by yourselves. This criticism shows that those people do not know firstly what time means in war, and secondly, how infinitely complicated is the industrial war organization which from the very start is required by an extensive production of ordnance and aviation.

As regards aviation, the results already obtained in the United States are, in my opinion, above all expectations. Within six months you have brought out the Liberty motor, which, if not of higher value than the best existing types, is equal to them, and once standardized will be manufactured in large quantities; by

the thousands. On the other hand, my technical experts declare that the organization of your aviation schools is excellent in general, and that almost everywhere your pilots are now ready, after a final training, to start their work on the battle front.

As regards ordnance, the adoption without any modification of our various types of guns would certainly have saved some time to the benefit of the American production, and some delays may be the consequence of the improvements you are looking for, always, and rightly at that, aiming at better results. But as we have agreed, it was understood that you should supply and transport to France the necessary raw materials; we will, under such conditions, be able, in France, to deliver to you before July 1 enough guns thoroughly to equip twenty of your divisions. The situation, therefore, is completely safe in that respect.

Let us consider the financial help. The Allies have received from you in ten months \$4,236,000,000. To grant them this help without interfering with your own needs Congress has authorized expenses to the amount of \$22,000,000,000.

American aid to the Allies has taken still other forms. I wish to mention the methodical and sustained action of the Food Administration, the Railroad Administration, the Shipping Board, the Fuel Administration, the War Trade Board. I am in daily touch with all these

boards. I know the difficulties that they have to contend with. I know the results that they achieve.

During the month of December last the High Commission called the attention of the Shipping Board to a crisis affecting very seriously our supply in gasoline and oil for the first two months of 1918. Today the measures taken by the board allow me to state that this imminent peril is absolutely overcome for those two months.

Last Jan. 17, when arriving in New York I found thirty-seven ships unable to sail for France on account of lack of coal. On Jan. 18 the restriction orders for coal were issued by the Fuel Administration, and when I left New York on the 22d all our ships had coal.

More recently I have found myself obliged, together with my allied colleagues, to draw the attention of Mr. McAdoo and Mr. Hoover to the insufficient arrivals of cereals in the American ports. I am convinced that the measures which were immediately studied and decided upon unanimously will bring for the next month a decisive improvement. Their execution has already begun.

Judging things as a whole, I declare without any restriction and without any reserve that by its war policy the United States Government has well earned the praise of its allies and of civilization, for which we are fighting together.

The Coal Crisis and "Heatless Days"

America's First War Emergency

SHORTAGE of coal, or rather shortage of facilities to transport coal, was the cause of the first serious economic crisis which the United States had to face after its entry into the war. Coal production for 1917 showed a considerable increase over 1916, but the shortage of cars and the general condition of congestion at terminals continued to make it increasingly difficult to move coal from the sources of production to the centres of consumption. Drastic measures became necessary, and finally Dr. H. A. Garfield, Fuel Administrator, with

the approval and support of President Wilson, ordered a general close-down of industry throughout the United States east of the Mississippi for five consecutive days and the limitation of the working week to five days during the nine weeks following.

The origins of the trouble were complicated by war conditions and conflicting interests. In May, 1917, a committee on coal production, with Francis Peabody as Chairman, was appointed by the Council of Defense.

Late in June it summoned to a confer-

ence 400 coal operators. The operators were met by Secretaries Lane and Daniels, by ex-Governor Fort of the Federal Trade Commission, and Assistant Attorney General Williams, who addressed the operators in substantially identical terms. The price of coal had been steadily rising until it had reached \$5.50 or \$6 a ton. The coal operators' committee finally fixed the price (at the mine) by agreement among the operators at \$3 a ton east of Pittsburgh and \$2.75 to the west.

Then, on July 1, Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, in his capacity as Chairman of the National Council of Defense, repudiated the agreement, despite the approval of other members of the Government, on the ground that the price was exorbitant and oppressive. There was, in consequence, no regulated price for coal, and for nearly two months the operators continued to get the same prices as before, until at last, on Aug. 21, President Wilson, at the suggestion of Federal Trade Commissioner W. B. Colver, fixed the price at \$2.50 a ton. During this period, between July 1 and Aug. 21, many consumers delayed buying, and orders for many millions of tons throughout the country were canceled. The result was that there was no movement of coal during the three Summer months when the railroads formerly made a differential rate. Deliveries by the railroads in large quantities thus were begun three months later. It was this delay which largely helped to cause the crisis.

Dr. Garfield, who was appointed Fuel Administrator late in August, was continuously the target of criticism by the coal operators, partly because of his ruling that no men of actual experience in the coal business should serve on any of the coal administration committees of the several States, but mainly because there was a definite opposition of interests between the Government and the operators. Late in September Dr. Garfield fixed the price of coal at \$2 a ton, which was still the basic price when the coal crisis came.

The extent to which the railroads contributed to create conditions making for the industrial close-down was variously

estimated. According to Federal Trade Commissioner Colver, the railroads alone were to blame for the plight in which the country found itself in January, 1918. They had, he said, refused to render the full measure of car service of which they were capable, and had done so deliberately to make it appear that their demands for greater financial returns were justified. Similar views were expressed by miners' leaders among the 1,500 delegates to the biennial convention at Indianapolis on Jan. 16 of the United Mine Workers of America. John P. White, ex-President of the Miners' Union, and now Labor Adviser to the National Fuel Administration, said that it was not a question of production, but of transportation. There were miles and miles of loaded coal cars that were not moving. Frank T. Hayes, President of the Miners' Union, said that if the miners had been provided with an adequate car supply during 1917 there never would have been an industry nor a domestic consumer suffering from the deplorable condition with which 1918 opened.

The principle adopted by the Fuel Administration to relieve the situation was that of conservation. Dr. Garfield on Jan. 8 announced that industries classed as "not absolutely necessary to the conduct of the war" must curtail their use of coal by at least 50,000,000 tons during 1918 in order to assure ample supplies for the war activities and domestic consumption and relieve congestion on the transportation lines.

Without waiting for directors of industry to initiate measures of conservation, the Government was obliged to deal with the situation, which, in the middle of January, was becoming increasingly acute. A period of the severest weather on record had intervened to make the coal trouble still worse. Nevertheless, there was much adverse criticism when Dr. Garfield issued an order closing down all factories throughout the United States east of the Mississippi River for five days, Jan. 18 to 22, inclusive, and on nine subsequent Mondays beginning Jan. 28. The only factories exempted from this order were those engaged in the production of foodstuffs.

ARTHUR HENDERSON, P. C., M. P.



Who left the British War Cabinet to take up the leadership of the
reorganized British Labor Party.

(Photo P. S. Rogers.)

GERMAN INDEPENDENT SOCIALISTS



WILHELM DITTMAN

Reichstag deputy sent to jail for
aiding strikers.

(Press Illus. Photo.)



HUGO HAASE

Leader of the Independent Social-
ists in the Reichstag.

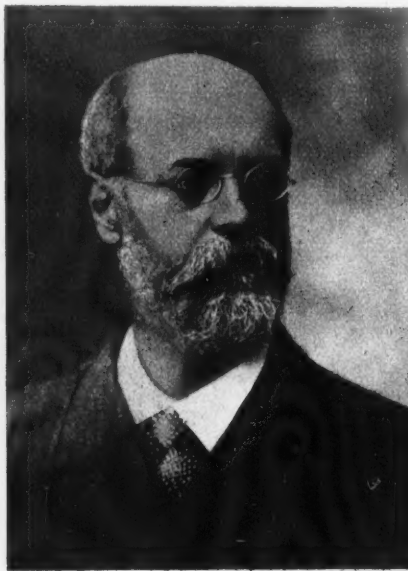
(Bain Photo.)



GEORG LEDEBOUR

Advocate of a German democratic
republic.

(Press Illus. Photo.)



KARL KAUTSKY

Dismissed from editorship of Neue
Zeit for opposing Scheidemann.

(Press Illus. Photo.)

This action, admittedly more drastic than any adopted by any of the nations at war, was decided upon after a series of conferences between Government officials at which the situation was carefully canvassed. The facts were laid in detail before President Wilson, who approved of Dr. Garfield's order. The only concession to the war industries, including the steel mills, was the promise of a sufficient supply of coal to keep their plants from "going cold."

The majority of business establishments and offices were forced to suspend work on the "heatless" Mondays, though some "carried on" at the expense of great discomfort. Many buildings were also without light. Theatres and other places of amusement, cafés, and saloons were prohibited from using fuel for heating purposes. But as Monday became virtually a holiday, theatres and places of amusement were permitted to open on that day and to close down Tuesday instead. Even cigar stores were closed. Only stores for the sale of food and drugs remained open. The streets of the large cities were more deserted than on Sundays.

The greatest hardship was suffered by the working class. Several million men and women were rendered idle, and in the great majority of cases they lost their wages. From their point of view the close-down was equivalent to a lockout, while from that of the public it was as if a general strike had been declared. The paralysis of trade and industry evoked many protests from employers and workers alike, but, after the first shock of surprise, there was soon a general disposition to accept the close-down as necessary to the execution of the war plans. The national standpoint was outlined by a statement issued by President Wilson on Jan. 18:

I was, of course, consulted by Mr. Garfield before the fuel order of yesterday was issued, and fully agreed with him that it was necessary, much as I regretted the necessity.

This war calls for many sacrifices, and sacrifices of the sort called for by this order are infinitely less than sacrifices of life which might otherwise be involved. It is absolutely necessary to get the ships away, it is absolutely necessary to relieve

the congestion at the ports and upon the railways, it is absolutely necessary to move great quantities of food, and it is absolutely necessary that our people should be warmed in their homes, if nowhere else, and halfway measures would not have accomplished the desired ends.

If action such as this had not been taken, we should have limped along from day to day with a slowly improving condition of affairs with regard to the shipment of food and of coal, but without such immediate relief as had become absolutely necessary because of the congestions of traffic which have been piling up for the last few months.

I have every confidence that the result of action of this sort will justify it and that the people of the country will loyally and patriotically respond to necessities of this kind as they have to every other sacrifice involved in the war. We are upon a war footing, and I am confident that the people of the United States are willing to observe the same sort of discipline that might be involved in the actual conflict itself.

In the result many thousands of tons of coal were saved on each of the "heatless days," and it was found possible to issue a list of exempt industries, and subsequently extend this list. The congestion of freight was gradually relieved, though not rapidly enough to ease the situation to the extent required. Accordingly, another temporary check was put on industry in the Eastern United States on Jan. 23 when Mr. McAdoo, as Director General of Railroads, ordered an official embargo on all new shipments of freight except fuel, food, and a few war necessities on the Pennsylvania lines east of Pittsburgh, the Baltimore & Ohio lines east of the Ohio River, and the Philadelphia & Reading system. The effect of the embargo order was to stop the loading of all freight except under the exempted classes on any of the cars of these lines. Industries not essential to the war were permitted to continue production to the capacity of their coal supply and storage warehouses, but were unable to send it out upon the railroads to add to the congestion.

A further development of the Fuel Administration's control of the supply of coal was the institution of a zone system in the East. J. D. A. Morrow, who had recently been General Secretary of the National Coal Association, representing

the bituminous operators, and previously Assistant Secretary of the Federal Trade Commission and Commissioner of the Pittsburgh Coal Producers' Association, was appointed by Dr. Garfield to head a new division of the Fuel Administration to take exclusive charge of all movements of coal from producer to consumer. The purpose of the new division was to decentralize partially apportionment and distribution. The zone system was another attempt to relieve freight congestion throughout the East, which was still serious enough to make it necessary to maintain the embargo on

general merchandise and intensify efforts to move coal and food.

This, the first serious breakdown in the economic organization of the United States since entering the war, tended to increase the powers of the Central Government and to impress upon American business men, accustomed to individual initiative, the prime necessity of co-ordination.

At this stage, therefore, a new phase opened in the work of making the nation's industrial mobilization more efficient along the lines laid down in the President's statement quoted above.

The Volunteer's Mother

By SARAH BENTON DUNN

[This poem, which first appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES of July 3, 1917, has comforted and inspired so many mothers of soldiers that it deserves a permanent nook in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

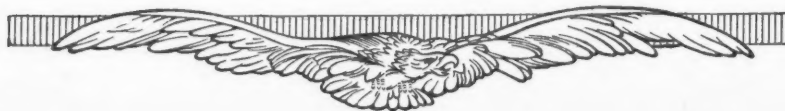
He was so beautiful—my baby son!
His sun-kissed curls clung close around his head,
His deep blue eyes looked trustingly in mine.
I did my best to keep his beauty fair
And fresh and clean and dainty, for I knew
I never could be satisfied with less.

He was so strong and well, my little son!
I gave my days and nights to keep him so—
Called in fresh air and sunlight to my aid,
Good food and play, all healthful things of life.
I wanted physical perfection, for
I never could be satisfied with less.

He was so bright and clever, my big son!
I sent him to the very best of schools,
Denying self that he might know no lack
Of opportunity to do his best,
Or feel no door of progress closed to him.
I never could be satisfied with less.

And yet—but now—my well-beloved son,
For your perfection can I pay the price?
Or would I have you play the coward's part,
With selfish, shriveled soul too small to dwell
Within so fair a frame? Is that my choice?
I sought the best! Shall I be satisfied with less?

Nay, I would have you honorable, my son—
Just, loyal, brave, and truthful, scorning fear
And lies and meanness—ready to defend
Your home, your mother, and your country's flag.
He's gone! Dear God! With bleeding heart I know
I still could not be satisfied with less!



Case of United States Against Germany

Senator Owen's Resolution

SENATOR OWEN, United States Senator from Oklahoma, introduced in the Senate on Jan. 31, 1918, a concurrent resolution committing the United States Congress to the support of the nation's war aims as stated by President Wilson in his address of Jan. 8. Mr. Owen's summary of the reasons for the entrance of the United States into the war, as set forth in the resolution, is a compact recital. It is printed in full herewith:

Resolved by the Senate, (the House of Representatives concurring.) The United States declared a state of war existing between the Imperial Government of Germany and the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria and the United States because of their repeated willful violations of the rights of the people of the United States under the acknowledged principles of international law; the sinking of unarmed merchant vessels and of hospital and Red Cross ships; the destruction of the lives of unoffending American citizens on their lawful business on the high seas on many occasions; filling the United States with spies and secret agents; conspiring the wholesale destruction of American industries by arson, by explosions, and murder; systematically promoting sedition and treason among our citizens, and the criminal violation of our laws by the German and Austrian aliens residing in the United States; endeavoring to incite the hostility and aversion of other nations against the United States, and to persuade Mexico and Japan to make war upon the United States, and many other wrongful acts contrary to the laws of nations and in violation of justice and of humanity; and for the further reason that it had finally become known to the United States from indisputable evidence that the military masters of Germany and Austria had deliberately and secretly conspired to bring about an elaborately prepared offensive war by which and through which they intended, first, to dominate Europe, nation by nation, and then to dominate the other unprepared nations of the earth and establish a military world dominion.

For many years past the governing powers of Germany and Austria have by worldwide intrigue carried on a systematic attempt to disorganize public opinion in the United States and in the other nations of the world for the purpose of breaking down the powers of resistance of other na-

tions against the conspiracy for world dominion by exciting nation against nation and internal disorders among the nations that might oppose this sinister design.

The United States has not forgotten that the military rulers of Germany and Austria deliberately prevented international agreements at the various Hague Conventions for arbitration of international differences, abatement of armaments, and world peace.

A War of Spoliation

The United States recognizes this war as an offensive war of the completely prepared German and Austrian military autocracies against the unsuspecting and inadequately prepared democracies of the world in pursuance of the policy laid down in the first and second articles of the secret treaty of Verona of Nov. 22, 1822, in which the autocratic rulers of Prussia and Austria solemnly pledged their powers to each other to overthrow all "representative" Governments on earth, the consummation of which design the Prussian and Austrian autocratic group has steadily and secretly kept in view, and that this war had for its objects the premeditated slaughter and robbery of the innocent peoples of other nations for the sordid and base purposes of annexation, indemnity, robbery, and commercial profit by military force and terrorism and ultimate world dominion.

The United States finally recognized the unavoidable necessity of meeting the forces of this military conspiracy on the battlefields of Europe in order to prevent the military rulers of Germany and Austria from succeeding in the first step of mastering Europe as a means of mastering and robbing America.

The United States cannot be deceived by those military leaders of Germany and Austria who now, before their own people, pretend to be waging a war of defense and to desire an honorable peace, but whose every act has clearly demonstrated to the whole world that they deliberately planned and are still persisting in this unspeakably brutal war, with their sinister purposes unchanged, and which they are still attempting to carry out by terrorism, intrigue, and systematic falsehood and deceit at home and abroad.

The United States cannot confide in any statement or promise emanating from such a perfidious source until the German and Austrian people in fact and in sober truth

can control the conduct of their agents and compel them to observe the rules of morality and good faith.

The United States did not enter this war for material advantage or for any selfish purpose, or to gratify either malice or ambition.

Our Peace Terms

The United States will not approve of forcible annexations or mere punitive indemnities, even on the misguided people of Austria or of Germany, but demands the complete evacuation of all territory invaded during the present war by the German and Austrian troops, and the restoration and indemnity of Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro.

The United States believes that righting the wrong done to the French people by the Prussian Government in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine will remove long-pending grievances due to previous military aggression and will promote future world peace.

The United States believes that a readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognized lines of nationality; that an independent Polish State should be established over territory indisputably occupied by Polish people; that the peoples of Austria-Hungary, of the Balkans, and of the Ottoman Empire should have the right of autonomous development.

The United States will favor recognizing and protecting by an international alliance the territorial integrity of all nations, great and small; the maintenance of the right of unembarrassed self-determination of all nations, and the right of such nations to manage their own affairs by internal self-government; and safeguarding the rights of backward peoples by international agreement.

The United States will favor extending international credits for the restoration of all places made waste by war.

The United States will insist that the oceans and high seas and international waterways and canals shall be open on equal terms to the citizens of all nations; that all nations shall have the untaxed right of access to the sea of their goods in bond, through any intervening territory to the seaports of other nations, with equal access to shipping facilities.

The United States will favor the removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of equal trade conditions among all the nations of the world consenting to peace and associating themselves for its maintenance, without interfering with the right of any nation to govern its own imports and exports.

The United States will insist that adequate guarantees shall be given and taken to the end that national armaments on

land and sea should be reduced to the lowest points consistent with domestic safety.

Germany and Russia

The unbounded ambition and deceit of the Prussian military autocrats are again exposed in shameless nakedness before the German and Austrian people, their allies, and the world at large in their present demands of annexation of adjacent Russian territory and other demands contemplating the domination of the Russian and Polish people in flat violation of their own Reichstag's recent pledges against annexation and indemnity.

The United States feels for the Russian people the liveliest sympathy in their great losses in life and property at the hands of the German and Austrian autocrats, as well as their magnificent and glorious struggles in behalf of freedom and democratic world peace.

Having passed through many severe tests and trials in establishing popular government in America, the people of the United States, through their own directly elected representatives, desire to extend to the Russian people the cordial hand of fellowship in their new-found freedom and to assure their democratic brothers in Russia that we earnestly desire to render them, so far as possible, every assistance they may need and which they themselves desire.

The United States will favor an open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the claims of the Governments whose titles are to be determined.

The United States recognizes that a general association of civilized nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to nations, great and small alike, and of maintaining world peace, and believes that under such a system dissatisfied peoples now held under subjection to dominating nations for strategical purposes could be safely given their liberty and autonomy, as the rights of the dominant nation would be made safe by the general association of nations and the subject nation would cease to be a coveted asset against future war.

Punishing Aggression

The United States believes that under such general association of nations it should be a violation of international law and the highest international crime for any nation, on any alleged ground, to invade by military power the territorial limits of another nation, and that the penalty for such invasions should be the immedi-

ate international blockade of the invading and offending nation, an embargo on all mail, express, and freight to and from such nation, and the suppression of such invasion by the combined forces of the general association of nations organized for the protection of world peace.

The United States believes that all future international treaties should be made in the open, where all the world may know of the proceedings in the framing of such treaties, and that secret diplomacy and international intrigue should end.

The United States desires to be on friendly terms, political, commercial, and social, with the people of every nation, including those now under the control of the German and Austrian military autocracies, and to restore as speedily as possible these friendly relations with the German and Austrian people as soon as they organize a Government responsible to the will of the people of Germany and Austria and whenever they shall themselves demonstrate a willingness to deal with the other nations of the world on a basis of equality, justice, and humanity and are willing to abandon the atrocious and detestable doctrine of making war for annexation, indemnity, and profit.

The United States entered this war to protect the rights of its own citizens to life and liberty, to protect its own future,

to make the world safe from the future menace of military despotism, dynastic ambitions, or competing armaments, to establish permanent world peace on a basis of international justice, righteousness, and humanity, and, in co-operation with the self-governing belligerent nations, will maintain these principles, whatever the cost, with firmness and resolution until these ends are fully accomplished.

This resolution was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. On the same day Senator Borah of Idaho introduced a resolution in which the Congress of the United States pledged itself to the support of the independence of small nations, and gave assurances that they should be represented at the Peace Conference, also pledging the United States to a league of peace after the war. This resolution, likewise, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Senator Lewis of Illinois, the Democratic whip, two weeks previously had introduced a resolution approving in detail the fourteen propositions set forth in the President's address. This was referred to the same committee.

A German Exposure of the Hohenzollern Plot

Herr Thyssen's Revelations

SENATOR OWEN in the course of his remarks introducing the resolution printed above put into the record a pamphlet written by a German capitalist, August Thyssen, who has violently attacked the Hohenzollern dynasty for precipitating the war. Herr Thyssen is one of the chief iron, coal, and steel magnates of Central Germany. He is 78 years of age. Thyssen possessed until the beginning of the war huge mines, ironworks, docks, and even harbors, in British India, in other English colonial dependencies, as well as in France and in Russia, all of which have been sequestered by the Governments of these three powers as property belonging to the German foe. He has vast docks and shipbuilding works at Vlaardingen, near Rotterdam. He controls the Vulcan Iron and Steamship Building Company of Germany. Herr Thyssen's pamphlet is as follows:

I am writing this pamphlet because I want to open the eyes of Germans, especially of the business community, to facts. When the Hohenzollerns wanted to get the support of the commercial class for their war plans, they put their ideas before us as a business proposition. A large number of business and commercial men were asked to support the Hohenzollern war policy on the ground that it would pay them to do so. Let me frankly confess that I am one of those who were led to agree to support the Hohenzollern war plan when this appeal was made to the leading business men of Germany in 1912-13. I was led to do so, however, against my better judgment.

In 1912 the Hohenzollerns saw that the war had become a necessity to the preservation of the military system, upon which their power depends. In that year the Hohenzollerns might have directed, if they had desired, the foreign affairs of our country so that peace would have been assured in Europe for at least fifty years. But prolonged peace would have resulted certainly in the breakup of our military system, and with the breakup of our military system the power of the

Hohenzollerns would come to an end. The Emperor and his family, as I said, clearly understood this, and they, therefore, in 1912, decided to embark on a great war of conquest.

But to do this they had to get the commercial community to support them in their aims. They did this by holding out to them hopes of great personal gain as a result of the war. In the light of events that have taken place since August, 1914, these promises now appear supremely ridiculous, but most of us at the time were led to believe that they would probably be realized.

Promises of Vast Conquest

I was personally promised a free grant of 30,000 acres in Australia and a loan from the Deutsch Bank of £150,000, at 3 per cent., to enable me to develop my business in Australia. Several other firms were promised special trading facilities in India, which was to be conquered by Germany, be it noted, by the end of 1915. A syndicate was formed for the exploitation of Canada. This syndicate consisted of the heads of twelve great firms; the working capital was fixed at £20,000,000, half of which was to be found by the German Government.

There were, I have heard, promises made of a more personal character. For example, the "conquest of England" was to be made the occasion of bestowing upon certain favored and wealthy men some of the most desirable residences in England, but of this I have no actual proof.

Every trade and interest was appealed to. Huge indemnities were, of course, to be levied on the conquered nations, and the fortunate German manufacturers were, by this means, practically to be relieved of taxation for years after the war.

These promises were not vaguely given. They were made definitely by Bethmann Hollweg on behalf of the Emperor to gatherings of business men, and in many cases to individuals. I have mentioned the promise of a grant of 30,000 acres in Australia that was made to me. Promises of a similar kind were made to at least eighty other persons at special interviews with the Chancellor, and all particulars of these promises were entered in a book at the Trades Department.

But not only were these promises made by the Chancellor; they were confirmed by the Emperor, who, on three occasions, addressed large private gatherings of business men in Berlin, Munich, and Cassel in 1912 and 1913. I was at one of these gatherings. The Emperor's speech was one of the most flowery orations I have listened to, and so profuse were the promises he made that were even half of what he promised to be fulfilled, most of the

commercial men in Germany would become rich beyond the dreams of avarice.

The Emperor was particularly enthusiastic over the coming German conquest of India. "India," he said, "is occupied by the British. It is in a way governed by the British, but it is by no means completely governed by them. We shall not merely occupy India. We shall conquer it, and the vast revenues that the British allow to be taken by Indian Princes will, after our conquest, flow in a golden stream into the Fatherland. In all the richest lands of the earth the German flag will fly over every other flag."

Finally the Emperor concluded:

"I am making you no promises that cannot be redeemed, and they shall be redeemed if you are now prepared to make the sacrifices which are necessary to secure the position that our country must and shall occupy in the world. He who refuses to help is a traitor to the Fatherland; he who helps willingly and generously will have his rich reward."

All sounded, I admit, tempting and alluring, and though there were some who viewed rather dubiously the prospect of Germany being able to conquer the world in a year, the majority of business and commercial men agreed to support the Hohenzollern war plans. Most of them have since wished they had never paid any attention to them.

According to the promises of the Hohenzollern, victory was to have been achieved in December, 1915, and the promises made to myself and other commercial men in Germany when our money for the Kaiser's war chest was wanted were to have been then redeemed.

Charges Imperial Blackmail

But this is what has happened in reality: In December of 1916 the Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg, began to have interviews once more with business men. The purpose of these interviews was to get more money from them. Guarantees were asked from seventy-five business men in Germany, including myself, that they would undertake to subscribe £200,000,000 to the next war loan. I was personally asked to guarantee a subscription of £200,000. I declined to give this guarantee; so did some others. I was then favored with a private interview with Bethmann Hollweg's private secretary, who told me that if I declined to give the guarantee and subsequently the money I would lose a contract I had with the War Office. But not only that—I was threatened with the practical ruin of my business if I did not give the guarantee.

I described this demand as blackmail of the worst sort and refused to guar-

antee a mark to the war loan. Two months later I lost my contract, and the greater part of my business has been taken over at a figure that means confiscation. Moreover, I am not to get paid until after the war, but am to receive 4 per cent. on the purchase price. Every man who declined to promise a subscription to the amount he was asked has been treated in the same manner.

The majority of men, however, preferred to pay rather than to be ruined, and so the Hohenzollerns in the main got their way. But, apart from the blackmailing of men who refused to pay any more money into the Hohenzollern war chest, let us see how the Hohenzollerns' promises are working out. A circular was sent out last March to a large number of business men by the Foreign Trade Department which contained the following suggestion:

Preparing for the Reckoning

"It will be wise for employers who have foreign trade interests to employ agents in foreign countries who can pass themselves off as being of French or English birth. German agents and travelers will probably for some time after the war have difficulty in doing business not only in enemy countries but in neutral countries. There will undoubtedly be a personal prejudice against Germans that would probably make it difficult for representatives of German firms to do business. Although this prejudice will not interfere with German trade, as it will be merely of a personal character, it will facilitate trading transactions if employers will employ agents who can pass as

"French or English, preferably, or as Dutch, American, or Spanish."

So this is the prospect we are faced with after the war. The meaning of this circular in plain language is this: So loathed and hated have Germans become outside their own country that no one will want to have any personal dealings with them after the war.

A large number of businesses are, moreover, being secretly bolstered up with State aid. A condition of this aid is that the owners of the businesses receiving it shall agree to accept a considerable degree of State control over their business after the war. This is part and parcel of a plan on the part of the Hohenzollerns to get the commercial classes thoroughly into their grip before the end of the war, and so minimize the chances of a revolution.

These men who have agreed to accept aid now for their businesses, and State control after the war, have received a notification from the Foreign Trade Department to the effect that, with proper organization, Germany ought to recover her pre-war trade three years after peace is declared. Here is the Hohenzollern method of redeeming promises. We are to get back our pre-war trade three years after peace is declared, and to do this we must submit to have our trading transactions controlled and supervised by the State.

Can any German to whom such prospects are held out by the Emperor fail to see that he has been bamboozled and humbugged and fooled into supporting a war from which the utmost he can hope to gain is to come out of it without national bankruptcy?

How Canadians Voted Under Fire

During the elections in Canada in November, 1917, the Canadian troops in France cast their votes where they stood in the firing trenches or at their guns. A correspondent wrote:

The most dramatic of all incidents of the war election to date has been the securing of the votes of men wounded in action. Deputy presiding officers, scrutineers, and poll clerks have brought their ballot boxes with them to advanced dressing stations and voted men as they lay in bed—men who were so weak from suffering that it was all they could do to mark their ballots. Election officers have taken their boxes with them on tramways, behind the lines, and voted men practically as they worked. In the same way they have gone through the front-line trenches, giving the men in the firing line their opportunity to exercise the franchise. Officials have worked all day and far into the night and risked their lives to secure to every possible man an adequate opportunity to exercise the franchise. One poll clerk has been seriously wounded, a presiding officer has been sent down to the base as a casualty, and one gunner voting beside his gun was hit by shrapnel. Polling booths have been damaged by shellfire and by bombs, but there has been no serious interruption to election work, and above all no interference with actual war operations.

Economic Distress in Germany

Statement by the Rev. Aloysius Daniels

[A Priest Stationed at Marathon, Wis.]

The Rev. Aloysius Daniels arrived at New York from Germany on Feb. 2, 1918, after a two months' journey. He had been imprisoned in Westphalia for defending President Wilson, the court holding that he had "misused German hospitality." Upon his release he was permitted to go to Switzerland, and from there went to France and sailed in January.

IT is beyond understanding how human beings can endure what the Germans have had to suffer during the last few years. I have known men who have lost from 80 to 100 pounds from lack of nourishment. There is now no middle class. Those who belonged to that class have now descended to the poorest of the poor.

I have seen women who before the war lived in comfortable and refined surroundings forced to sweep the streets to support their families, while their husbands are out in the German trenches cursing the German Kultur for which they are forced to fight. The upper classes are living on the poor people. They own the war plants, the munition factories, and their money is piling up in Prussian banks.

[In referring to the strikes in February and reports of increasing unrest and dissatisfaction in Germany, the priest declared he was not surprised.]

This dissatisfaction has been steadily growing since the latter part of 1915, and it culminated in the riots and strikes of 1916. At that time strikes and riots occurred in every industrial centre in Germany, and it was at that time that all the police who had been sent to the front had to be recalled to aid the military in suppressing the strikers. They are still there in the big cities and industrial centres, which shows that uprisings are continuously expected.

FOOD LACKING EVERYWHERE

Most of the meat in the butcher shops is horse meat, and even that is very scarce. Horse meat sells for \$2.75 a pound. The best food conditions are present in Germany after the crops have

been gathered, and even then a prohibitive scale of prices remains. Then the people are allowed but one pound of potatoes a day, five ounces of meat a day, eight pounds of flour a week, and but five ounces of butter a week. Dairy produce is extremely scarce, and only the rich can afford it.

A woman who works twelve and fourteen hours a day must live on this food, and sometimes she cannot even get that ration, especially during the Winter months. The effect of the lack of nourishing food is shown in Germany today in the dreadful falling off in the birth rate. It has truly fallen away to practically nothing. Children of 5 and 6 years die rapidly after months of starving.

Germany only cares for those who can aid her in prosecuting the war. This has led to a brutal neglect of the aged. Those who happen to go to a police station, where all permits for food are given out, and ask permission to buy milk or eggs for a sick person are immediately asked, "How old is the sick man?"

If the person who is ill is beyond any age of active service food is at once refused. "That man is of no use to us. We have nothing for him," is the customary reply. Hunger has driven thousands to theft in their desperation, and this in spite of the fact that heavy sentences are dealt out to these offenders. A man found guilty of stealing a loaf of bread for his family is given from three weeks to a month in prison. In one morning, while I was in a Berlin court, I saw fifteen starving persons sent to jail for food thefts.

[Father Daniels said that the soldiers themselves when home on furlough help

to spread the dissatisfaction that is spreading all over the country. He continued:]

I have heard them cursing the Kaiser, and their feeling against the military is most bitter. They, of course, are guarded in their utterances except when among friends, for any of them found criticising the Government are shot down like dogs. Before I left I saw the 18-year-old boys of Germany drafted, and a relative of mine who was still in school was taken away. It is among these boys that insanity develops quickly after they are sent into the trenches, and the asylums are full to overflowing with soldiers crazed by the horrors that they have witnessed.

The German people do not get any true news of the war. The strikes and riots of 1916 were only quelled when the papers in the empire declared that the submarine warfare would bring England to her knees in three months. When the three months were over and there were no signs of peace, patriotic feeling was again revived by anti-Wilson propaganda. The main story was to the effect that President Wilson had been bought by England.

ADVICE TO PROPAGANDISTS

[In conclusion Father Daniels gives this opinion of German Kultur:]

I know now what it means, and there is nothing too fiendish to class under it. It means taking schoolboys, giving them a gun, and sending them out to do a man's work in the trenches. It means undermining the health of the German woman, putting her to cleaning the streets, making the munitions, and at the same time starving her. It means making of the children of Germany a race of starved, diseased boys and girls. It means deserting the old men and women and refusing them nourishment because they cannot help the Kaiser carry on his war program. It means everything that is cruel, unjust, and inhuman to the people upon whom it falls.

I have seen German Kultur at its worst, and I say God help the poor mortals who must live with it. If any man spreading German propaganda in this country and secretly praising the Kaiser could go and live under the conditions I have seen, he would be very glad to return to the United States and thank God he had been fortunate enough to receive the blessings of a democratic Government.

Suffering and Unrest in Berlin

A traveler from Germany who reached London on Jan. 10 gave this report of conditions at Berlin:

The situation in Berlin is absolutely awful. For the great mass of the population there is hardly any light, warmth, clothing, or boots, and an appalling lack of food. The work of the city is carried on by decrepit men, and by women who are reduced to nearly the same condition. "On one occasion I saw a coal cart with Russian prisoners in the driver's seat, and four women, literally in rags, carrying the bags of coal into a house." The linen worn by both sexes is abominably dirty, for there is no soap with which to wash it.

There is an intensely bitter feeling among the people against the Government, and there would undoubtedly be a revolt but for the fact, as the people are always saying, that "women cannot make a revolution." The Government knows all this, and forbids able-bodied

men returning to Berlin from the front. Officers are allowed to return there only in exceptional circumstances.

Hindenburg is loathed by the people of Berlin. Placards with the picture of Hindenburg (such as those with Kitchener's picture in England at the beginning of the war) urging the population to subscribe to loans, to hold out, &c., are torn off by the people, though in South Germany they are not touched. All over Berlin little notices are posted up offering a reward of 3,000 marks (\$750) to any one giving information of persons who say anything against the Government, the Emperor, the war, or officers.

The population of Berlin is divided roughly into three classes. The upper, military class, which adores Hindenburg and hates Ludendorff; the middle class,

which loves Ludendorff, and the lower, working class, which loathes Hindenburg, Ludendorff, and especially the Emperor. This latter class ridicules the Crown Prince unmercifully. Otherwise nobody speaks of the imperial family, which has ceased to be a dominant factor.

The well-to-do classes get along fairly comfortably, because the necessities of life can be purchased if one can afford to give fabulous sums for them. A ham, for example, can be bought for \$70.

A special dinner at a restaurant for three people, costing \$12.50, consisted of soup that was practically warm water, some tiny fishes, ("people now eat the fishes' heads,") a fragment of some sort of meat, a few carrots, and a piece of turnip boiled in water, and some pudding that was uneatable. Some officers were dining at a neighboring table, and one of them said, "The English have already won the war," for which he was taken severely to task by the others.

The New Paris and Its Daily Life

Described by John Bell

What are the greatest changes that forty months of war have effected in the life of Paris? After a patient search I think I have discovered them. Though the war has not repressed Gallic gayety, it has proved a corrective in that it has restricted the area of amusements, revised tastes, and, as will be seen shortly, it will control appetites.

We are living in a new and chastened Paris. Here are a few pictures of the new city as I see it today. The Grand Boulevards—from the Madeleine to the Bonne Nouvelle—are crowded as of old. Morning or afternoon, whether there are fitful gleams of sunshine or "chill November's surly blasts" sweep the leaves from the trees, they are a blaze of color and movement. The horizon blue uniforms of French officers mingle with British and American khaki and Italian gray-green, with here and there a red fez and a black face; and the gray days do not exclude touches of color from women's toilets. At nighttime the same crowd—but with civilian black predominate—jostling and good-humored. The cafés and terraces are full. At half-past 9 shrill whistles and distinctive clapping of hands are heard. No need to ask what these sounds portend. They are the signals that the closing hour is come. There is no grace. The cafés empty as if by magic.

By 10 o'clock the crowds on the boulevards have melted away.

Nine o'clock in the evening. The Rue Blanche, that long, narrow street leading to the Heights of Montmartre, is dark,

silent, and deserted—like a village street when the shutters are closed. Perhaps things will be more lively in the Boulevard Clichy, which aforesaid scintillated with lights from restaurants, theatres, and freak show places. Illusion. This artery of Paris, to which those in search of amusement hied, could not be more subdued. The show places, with their hideous façades—plaster heads of monsters with bulging eyes in which the electric light shone, and huge teeth, and the fantastic forms of humans and animals—are in darkness. Il n'y a plus.

Chastened by the horrors and sorrows of war, people are not in the mood to tolerate these inanities. That is why they have gone. Yet the cabaret is still there, bravely struggling to maintain itself as an institution. In the Boulevard Rochecouart, which vied with the Boulevard Clichy in attracting the foreigner, a long-haired gentleman wearing a brown velvet jacket shouts his program for the evening. It seems a work of supererogation. The passers-by are rare.

Life on the Left Bank is even less attractive. The Boulevard Saint Michel! It is a new Pays Latin. No sparkling lights, no movement, no sounds of students' revels. I walk from the Place Saint Michel to the Jardin du Luxembourg. It is a night of stars. But there are few people to enjoy the starlight. The centre of Murger's "Vie de Bohème" is as silent as the grave. The cafés, which formerly resounded with quip and jest, are practically deserted. Gas is wasted for nothing. Only in front of a tobacco shop do

I find a little group of men—students and painters wearing in their buttonholes the ribbon which indicates that they have been discharged from the army.

The same desolation in the Rue des Ecoles. A row of lights indicates a well-known cabaret that was always crowded

before the war. I peep inside, and find a score of men and women trying to enjoy the songs and jests in argot. "C'est la guerre," says the proprietor in explanation of his sparse audience. Yes, it is the war. Paris is becoming serious after forty months of it.

War Burdens in Hungary

General strikes broke out in Austria and Hungary in the last weeks of January, 1918, and for a while became menacing. As early as Nov. 27, 1917, 200,000 working people took part in a demonstration at Budapest to protest against their privations and to demand peace.

The Budapest Népszava on Nov. 29 published a report from its Vienna correspondent which shows that life is indeed hard in the monarchy. In many districts of Bohemia a new disease has made its appearance, which from its symptoms has been called famine-dropsy. Men are attacked by it chiefly between

the ages of 40 and 50, and unless the patient is given plenty of nourishment the disease proves fatal. The ravages of the disease are very great. In the small town of Asch 900 cases occurred, 3 per cent. proving fatal. In the small districts of Graslitz 1,500 cases, with 8 to 10 per cent. deaths; Haida, 1,500 cases, with 10 per cent. deaths; Rumburg, 646 cases, with 12½ per cent. deaths; in Platten and Baeringen the number of cases and deaths was still greater. In Weipert, Schluckenau, and Warndorff there were many thousands of cases, and in every instance the cause has been found to be insufficient food.

Germany's Claim to Alsace

A Study by Frederic Masson

Frederic Masson, author of this brilliant article, which appeared in The London Telegraph, is one of the most distinguished of French historians. He is Librarian of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a member of the French Academy. He here presents the historical claims of Alsace and Lorraine to be and to remain French.

DURING the middle of the seventeenth century, Germany was not a definitely constituted State, inclosed in well-defined boundaries, composed of rigid elements, ruled by a recognized Constitution acknowledged by all, possessed of a code of uniform laws, and obeying one single chief in peace and war; she was an agglomeration of States of all dimensions, of the most varying importance, independent in fact if not in law, bound to the elected Chief of the Empire by a tie so feeble and subjected to so many restrictions that it might well be asked where the exercise of the central power began and

where it ended. As has been said, "the Emperor possessed nothing intact but the insignia of his dignity."

By virtue of its "territorial sovereignty," each State exercised over its own territory all rights of sovereignty that were not in contradiction with the public and general laws of the empire; these ancient rights, prerogatives, liberties, privileges, territorial freedom, &c., were definitely assured to all the Electors, Princes, and States of the empire by the Treaty of Osnabrück; but those States of the empire which sat in the Diet, and which had been nominated more by chance than by any fixed principle,

were far from forming all the component parts of the empire. Thus the "Immediate Nobles," who had no vote in the Diet, acknowledged only the "Corpus Germanicus" and the Emperor, enjoyed individually the rights of "territorial sovereignty," and, as a body, certain prerogatives which released their subjects from imperial claims; thus the "Immediate" and imperial towns which, since 1309, sent Deputies to the Diet, enjoyed all the rights of sovereignty by means of Constitutions which recognized the privileges that they had successively exacted, conquered, or bought.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

The Emperor was elected; formerly he was elected in the first degree by the Dukes and principal nobles, and in the second by what one may term the people—meaning those people who were in the "street" at Aix-la-Chapelle. Ever since the bull published in 1336 by Charles IV. to the States of Nuremberg, which has become the basis of the political rights of the empire, the Emperor had been elected by the seven Electors—the Archbishop of Mainz, Archchancellor of the Empire in Germany; the Archbishop of Cologne, Archchancellor of the Empire in Italy; the Archbishop of Trèves, Archchancellor of the Empire in Gallic territories; the King of Bohemia, archcupbearer; the Count Palatine of the Rhine, Archsteward; the Duke of Saxony, Archmarshal, and the Margrave of Brandenburg, Archchamberlain.

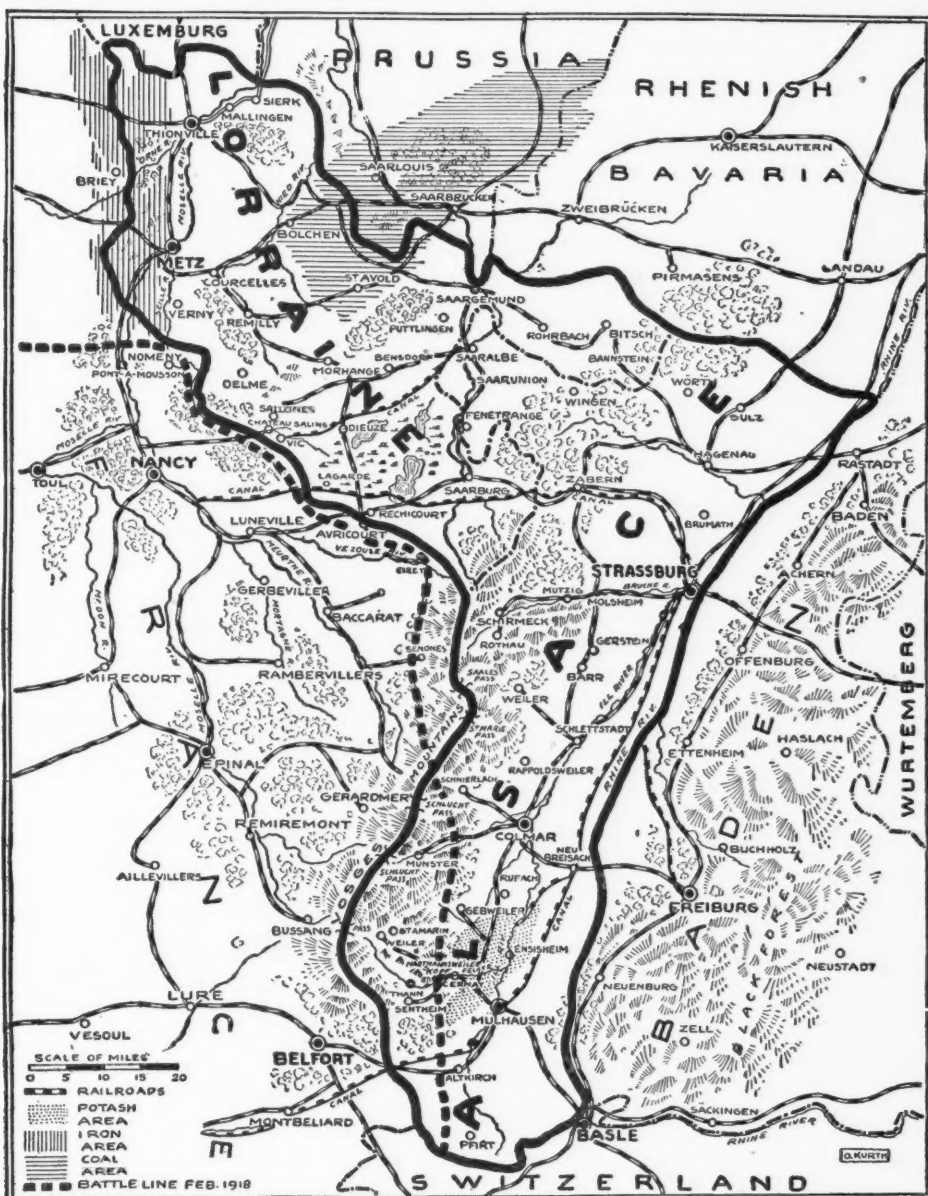
What, then, was this empire? The "Holy Roman Empire," the universal empire. Thus, on the occasion of the election, each Elector swore by the Holy Gospels, by the faith by which he was sworn to God and the Holy Roman Empire, that according to all his discernment and judgment he wished to elect "a temporal chief of the Christian people," that is to say, "a King of the Romans, future Emperor. * * *." And that is why the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire claimed the whole of Italy, Belgium, Gaul, and many other States, kingdoms, and republics, but these claims were worth just as much as the assessor of them could impose.

Thus the possession of nearly the

whole of Italy can be claimed by Germany with far more historical foundation than she can claim Alsace-Lorraine, if it is once admitted that all those countries that formed part of the Holy Roman Empire should be incorporated in the German Empire. For Otto I., who conquered the Kingdom of Italy in 961, and who in 962 included it in his empire, assuredly transmitted to his descendant, William II., his rights over the peninsula. Modern Germany is still more within her rights in claiming the imperial fiefs which she lost in 1815, those which lie between Genoa, Tortona, and Pavia, those of Lunigiana, and those of Tuscan, (Verna, Montanto, and Monte-Santa Maria.) Better still, if the stipulations of the Treaty of Westphalia are closely examined, it cannot be forgotten that the thirteen Swiss cantons obtained from the Imperial States the acknowledgment of their independence, their entire freedom, and their exemption from the empire only by the Treaty of Osnabrück, and that previously—that is to say, in 930—Switzerland was included in the legacy that Rudolph III. bequeathed to Conrad the Salic of the Kingdom of Arles, which comprised the two Burgundies. It was only at the beginning of the fourteenth century that the Swiss attempted to free themselves: their struggle lasted until the opening of the sixteenth century, and their independence was only acknowledged in the middle of the seventeenth century.

MIGHT AND RIGHT

There is no doubt that as soon as one enters the domain of ancient claims, and as soon as it is admitted that Might constitutes the sole Right, some alleged conquest will always be found for the benefit of Germany. "The Germans," wrote a celebrated lawyer in 1821, "were of all modern peoples the slowest to understand that justice exists in the social State only for the purpose of acting as a balance to force." It was only after innumerable attempts and many bloody wars that the Emperors succeeded, not in destroying, but in attenuating "this sovereign jurisdiction of the sword," which each holder of a fief defended as a sacred right. It was to get rid of this



MAP OF ALSACE AND LORRAINE, WITH BATTLE FRONT SHOWN BY DOTTED LINE. THE AMERICAN FORCES ARE NORTH OF TOUL AND NANCY

that Rudolph of Hapsburg decreed a public peace for three years, that his successors attempted vainly to carry out this task, and that Maximilian I., on the demand of the States themselves, decreed by the Diet of Worms in 1495 a perpetual public peace, to be assured, as far as possible, by the application of the sen-

tence of banishment to those who infringed it, and by the creation of the Imperial Chamber.

The right of Might as a consequence of the negation of Right is the direct heritage and the tradition of the Germans; throughout the ages, no matter how it may be disguised, it exists as the

basis of relations between Germany and all other nations, and even as the basis of relations between the Germans themselves.

The entire history of the German people illustrates the declarations of their lawyers, attested by the words, which are without parallel in any other country and have remained traditional: "Faust und Kolben Recht"—the domination of the right of the strongest. Thus, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, an attempt was being made in Germany to find a remedy for these continual abuses of Might, and a period where Might constituted the sole Right was soon to be entered upon.

The Reformation opens the period where the abuse of Force was at its height, for it was exercised in the name of religious doctrines which ought to have had as their object the assignment of its limitations. That most assuredly was the *raison d'être* of the ecclesiastical principalities. Their possessors, it is true, often lost sight of this object, but there was at least a hope, which at times became a reality, that a man animated by love and justice might ascend an episcopal throne. After the secularization of the ecclesiastical principalities and of the militant religious orders, and their seizure by lay Princes, there remained only the harshness of men of iron, who oppressed the peasant, the serf, and the people. Religion has been made a fresh occasion for persecution.

The Holy Empire, an incoherent mass composed of thousands of parts, each possessing its own master and a different Constitution, ruled by contradictory laws, separated by tariff dues, varying monetary standards, absence of roads, often at war one against the other, and generally hostile; the Holy Empire, a seething mass, of which the various parts joined issue according to the interests of the moment, and formed more or less numerous and powerful leagues; the Holy Empire, an almost fluid mass, of which the influence was subordinated to the external resources which the nominal sovereign of the moment turned to his own advantage, oscillated continually between its neighbors of the west, those of the

south, and those of the east. Possessed only of conventional frontiers, except on the side where it refused to recognize them, it overflowed sometimes in the direction of the Slavs or Letts, and sometimes in that of the French or the Czechs. Boundary lines appear and disappear with each treaty of peace, and without any reason for their existence being formulated, for the Germanic race, even though it stretches to infinity, is easily penetrated and assimilated by other races.

The King of Spain, who was also Archduke of Austria, in the election of 1519 triumphed by a majority of one over the King of France. The two royal houses thereupon became rivals, and since then a great number of Electors and imperial towns allied themselves with the French against the Austrians, who had been again invested by this farcical election and by the Pontifical confirmation with the imperial dignity.

FRENCH SOVEREIGNTY

When, after more than one hundred years of uninterrupted struggle—for certain of the civil and religious wars in France assumed the character of a conflict between French and Germans, if not Germany—the two States, and nearly the whole of Europe, whom they had dragged into their quarrel, met together for the great negotiation in which the Pope in 1636 took the initiative, France claiming as a "satisfaction" the sovereignty of the Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which Henry II. had conquered in 1552; then Upper and Lower Alsace, including the Sundgau and the forest towns, "in the same way," she said, "as the Princes of the House of Austria had possessed these provinces, with Philippsburg and the surrounding territory." The King of France consented to hold these provinces as a fief of the empire, provided that a fitting rank and a seat in the Diet were granted him.

It was not Germany which ceded the Landgravate of Upper Alsace, but the House of Austria, the younger branch of that house which reigned in Tryol and which possessed the Landgravate of Upper Alsace as a fief of the empire, but without a voice in the Diet. After in-

terminable discussions the Congress ended by renouncing the imperial sovereignty over the three Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, over the towns of those names, and the districts surrounding the Bishoprics, and over the Landgravate of Upper and Lower Alsace, with the Sundgau, but without a voice in the Diet; it ceded also the prefecture of the ten imperial towns of Alsace. (The other stipulations concerning Pignerol, Vieux-Brisach, and Philippsburg were annulled by the Treaty of Turin in 1696, the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, and the Treaty of Nimeguen in 1679.)

"The Emperor," it is stated in Paragraphs 73 and 74 of the Treaty of Münster, "in his own name, as well as in that of the Royal House of Austria, and also in that of the empire, cedes all rights, properties, domains, possessions, and jurisdictions which have belonged up to the present as much to him as to the empire and to the House of Austria, on and over the town of Brisach, the Landgravate of Upper and Lower Alsace, the Sundgau, and the provincial prefecture of the ten imperial towns situated in Alsace * * * without reserve, and with all jurisdiction, sovereignty, and supreme authority." The essential point in the eyes of the Emperor was that the King of France should not enter the Diet, where he might have proved an insufferable rival. But there was nothing extraordinary in the case, the Kings of Sweden, Prussia, England, Hungary, and Spain having been members of the Diet for such part of their States as had been portions of the empire.

The King of France consented to this arrangement, but it was he who had raised the question. As to the Bishops of Strassburg and Bâle, the town of Strassburg, the Abbés of Murbach and of Lure, the Abbess of Andain, the Palatines of Petitepierre, and the nobility of Lower Alsace, as well as the ten imperial towns under the Prefecture of Haguenau, the King undertook to respect the right which they had theretofore enjoyed of being directly amenable to the Holy Empire.

This stipulation was faithfully observed, and if the town of Strassburg voluntarily ceded itself to the King of

France in 1681, it nevertheless maintained, in the same manner as the imperial towns of the Prefecture of Haguenau, its singularly complicated Constitution, dividing the power between the nobles and the people, Stettmeisters, Ammeisters, the Grand Senate, the Permanent Colleges, the Thirteenth, the Fifteenth, and the Twenty-first. The only innovation introduced by France was in 1685, when a royal official was authorized to attend the meetings of the Magistracy in a consultative capacity.

PETTY GERMAN RULERS

As for the German nobles who had possessions in Alsace, and of whom many were members of the "Corps de la Noblesse Immédiate" of Lower Alsace or of the "Corps de la Noblesse Immédiate" of Ortenau, they extended their almost sovereign authority over more than 1,300 localities, of which the greater number today form as many communes. The list of them will be found in "L'Alsace Noble," by Lehr, (Strassburg, 1870, quarto, Vol. III.) together with the most accurate map that has ever been made up to the present. The most important possessions belonged with all sovereign rights to the Landgravate of Hesse-Darmstadt, to the Duke of Valentinois, to the Duke of Württemberg, to the Margrave of Baden, to the Prince of Nassau-Saarbrück, to the Prince of Nassau-Weilburg, to the Republic of Mulhouse, to the Prince-Bishops of Strassburg, of Spire, and of Bâle, to the three branches of the Palatine House, to the princely houses of Hohenlohe, Loewenhaupt, Liange, and Salm.

The result of this arrangement was the strangest disparity in government and administration, and, in spite of all the efforts of the Sovereign Council of Alsace, the most complete disorder. Consequently, when in 1789 the States General was convened by King Louis XVI., the desire for unity, the wish to end the feudal régime and the domination of German Princes, were the outstanding features of the elections in Alsace. All the Deputies of the Tiers-Etat, the greater part of those of the clergy, and some of those of the nobility, declared themselves

from that time as being in favor of reform, of the Revolution, and of French nationality.

THROWING OFF THE YOKE

It may be that previous to 1789 Alsace was still German; it is certain that she was feudal, and that she impatiently endured the masters whom she hated. When, on the occasion of the Federation of 1790, Alsace swore fidelity to the new-born France, it was not conquest, but free choice and unanimous desire that made her French. She kept this oath of allegiance in 1793, although she was surrounded by counter-revolutionary traps at the very moment that the Austrians were placing new boundary posts on her territory; she kept it magnificently against the invaders in 1814, 1815, and in 1870. After the Assembly of 1789, and until the Assembly of 1871, she sent to the French Parliament the wisest, the firmest, the most energetic, and the most honest men, all passionately devoted to their country and to liberty.

The representatives of Alsace, faithful to the will of the Alsatian population, have affirmed in the French Chambers as well as in the Imperial Reichstag, their

will to be and to remain French. The question of the lapse of time is not to be taken into account. The protest was uninterrupted; the appeal to justice never ceased for a single day. Elected by the people, speaking in the name of the people, they have, in right as well as in fact, preserved French nationality for Alsace. They have proved that as opposed to the domination of "Might" there is justice, and that against the doctrine of conquest there is the doctrine of free consent. For forty-four years they have seized every occasion to claim for their compatriots the right to live, to fight, to die for France, and they have done so in spite of threats and terrorization, exile, imprisonment, and the scaffold. Alsace, who gave herself to France, who shared her life for eighty years with all her glories and her sorrows, is not a province whose nationality any more than her patriotism can be contested or disputed. She is as French as Picardy, Flanders, or the Ardennes. Alsace was never conquered by Germany; she was invaded. It is the invaders that we are fighting; it is Alsace that we are liberating—nothing more and nothing less.

Why Alsace-Lorraine Should Be Restored Without a Plebiscite

By Albert Thomas

Leader of the French Socialists, Former Cabinet Minister

[By arrangement with The London Chronicle]

MY comrades of the British Labor Party have in a recent declaration defined their views on the subject of war aims. They have, in particular, made their position clear as to the question of Alsace-Lorraine. The Labor Party has renewed its condemnation of the crime against the peace of the world by which Alsace-Lorraine was torn from France in 1871. It emphatically expresses its sympathy with the unfortunate inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine. It demands, "in accordance with the declarations of the French Socialists, that those populations shall be allowed, under the protection of the supernational au-

thority, or League of Nations, freely to decide what shall be their future political position."

I am afraid the detailed considerations in our memorandum in answer to the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee at Stockholm have led our friends a little astray.

Our British labor friends have been led to believe we were in favor of a plebiscite. They knew that we always firmly upheld the right of peoples to dispose of themselves. They thought that we could but apply that principle automatically to the case of Alsace-Lorraine. Alsace-Lorraine would recover her right freely to decide, probably under the control of an

international or a Franco-German commission, whether she is to remain German or return to France.

This is not the policy advocated by the declarations of the French Socialists. What they say is this: The right of France to Alsace-Lorraine remains unaltered: it was in violation of the right of peoples to self-determination that Alsace-Lorraine was wrenched from France; the treaty of Frankfurt, to which France had to submit, has been torn to pieces by Germany's own will in 1914; the document by which Alsace-Lorraine was surrendered to Germany has now been destroyed; the right of France remains immutable; therefore Alsace-Lorraine must come back to France.

But French Socialists further add (and this may have misled our British friends) that France, acting of her own free will, will do herself honor by going so far, in her regard for the right of self-determination, as to agree, after Alsace-Lorraine has resumed her place in the French community, to a consultation of the populations there, under the control of the League of Nations. What is proposed here is not a plebiscite which would decide whether Alsace-Lorraine would return to France or not, but a consultation after the event, by which the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine will declare that they wished to be French again.

I think I have made the distinction clear. I may add that, while this view is held by an overwhelming majority of the French Socialist Party, there are members of the party (and I am bound to say I am one of them, as well as some Socialists of Alsatian and Lorrainer origin) who are afraid that even such a consultation may be a dangerous concession, leading to a dubious interpretation; they adopt the formula of the Republican League of Alsace-Lorraine, and declare that a consultation cannot be forced upon these populations; it belongs to Alsace-Lorraine herself to assert in her own way, at the moment and in the form she prefers, her will to belong to France.

Our views being thus clearly restated, I wish to add a few words of explanation for our British friends.

Why do French and Alsatians, in this special case of Alsace-Lorraine, think

that no plebiscite should take place, in spite of their claim for the peoples of the right to dispose of themselves?

The reason is a simple one. The question is not to give a population the right for the first time to decide its own fate. It was in 1871 that the right of peoples to dispose of themselves was violated. The most characteristic feature of the French Nation is her complete unity, and the fact that all the populations of France have unquestionably expressed their desire to belong to the French community. No people in the world has attained to such absolute unity, such a homogeneous national structure. While Great Britain shows to the world the finest realization of the imperial idea, France is the very example and prototype of the nation.

In 1790, after the alternative changes which had made Alsace and Lorraine now French, now German, territories, the Lorrainers and the Alsatians, on the great day of the federation, solemnly declared their resolution to be part of the French Nation. At Strassburg, Mulhouse, and in other Alsatian towns the people showed by stirring demonstrations how enthusiastically they proclaimed their French nationality. During the nineteenth century no separatist tendency ever found any expression in Alsace or in Lorraine. In 1871, when the two provinces were violently taken from France, the inhabitants raised before the Bordeaux Assembly a moving protest, in which they declared that, should even centuries pass, their right to be French would remain indefeasible. In 1874 they protested in the Reichstag against annexation, made against their will, and by which they had been handed over to Germany "like mere cattle."

During forty-seven years the protest of Alsace-Lorraine never ceased to make itself heard in various ways. On the eve of the present war, when the Zabern incidents took place a Prussian officer could say that the German army in Alsace was practically in enemy country. Since the beginning of the war hundreds of sentences have been passed by German Judges on Alsatians whose guilt was to have expressed their French feelings.

To agree to a plebiscite under such circumstances would not only amount to

canceling the repeated protestations of 1871, 1874, and of all times. It would be equivalent to a declaration that our right has become null and void. It would amount to admitting that the Treaty of Frankfort is still valid, and it would vindicate Germany's action when in 1871 she violated the right of peoples to dispose of themselves. It is because of this right that the method of the plebiscite cannot be accepted.

The protest, which never ceased since 1871, establishes the fact of Alsace-Lorraine's unvaried desire to belong to France. France feels certain that should a plebiscite be taken, the result would be in her favor. But we must not forget that there are in Alsace-Lorraine 400,000 "immigrants," that is to say, German settlers, many of whom have been sent there as officials of the German Empire; they, no doubt, would declare for the endurance of German rule.

Let us suppose that, instead of 400,000, Germany had sent to Alsace-Lorraine 1,000,000 immigrants. Let us suppose that she had turned out a part of the population, or destroyed it by such massacres as her Turkish disciples are now perpetrating in Armenia: what would then happen if a plebiscite were taken? Would the right of peoples to dispose of themselves make it imperative to sanction by a vote, the result of which, in such circumstances, would be a foregone conclusion, the crime Germany committed in 1871?

It is therefore impossible, from the point of view of morality as well as from that of legality—if the right of peoples to dispose of themselves be adhered to—to make the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France conditional on the taking of a plebiscite.

WHY IT IS IMPRACTICABLE

But let us now for a moment admit that, by a concession which is really an impossible one, France were to consent to a plebiscite. We declare that it could not work in practice. First of all there would be conditions of time to settle: when should the plebiscite take place? Would it be when the country is still occupied by German armies, or how long after occupation by the French? Or

would it be under the guarantee of neutrals? In each case the consequence would be to lay the two provinces open to every kind of electoral contest, which would be the more serious because the question this time would not be of a choice between individuals, but between conditions which would decide the fate of the whole community.

German propaganda would be rampant. The threats which often weighed so heavily on those populations and paralyzed their political life would unavoidably react upon the people. Would not both French and German Governments be led to the making of promises, the giving of more or less official pledges, to influence the vote? And would the question of right, under such conditions, remain in full light before the peoples concerned?

Then—and this is more important—who would be entitled to vote? The register, unfortunately, could not include those who, having enlisted in the French Army, gave their lives for the cause of Alsace-Lorraine. But only the genuine Alsations and Lorrainers of 1871 and their offspring, including the hundreds of thousands who have left the country since and because it was annexed to Germany, should take part in the plebiscite. Under no circumstances could the immigrants be admitted to vote.

Would such a plebiscite—although the only one that would be morally admissible—finally settle the dispute between France and Germany?

Therefore it must be concluded that the plebiscite is not only unacceptable in principle, but also impossible in practice.

Those who might persist in objecting that the right of peoples to dispose of themselves cannot be vindicated by any other method must be reminded that the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine have unceasingly expressed their feelings. Since 1871 there has been, so to speak, an uninterrupted plebiscite. The population of Alsace-Lorraine has consistently refused to accept the Treaty of Frankfort. We only state actual facts when we say that the case of Alsace-Lorraine is the same as that of our invaded provinces. Just as the German armies shall evacu-

ate these, they must and shall evacuate Alsace-Lorraine. The only difference is that their occupation has lasted three and a half years, and that of Alsace-Lorraine forty-seven years.

AN INTERNATIONAL QUESTION

There is one more point on which I wish to lay special stress, speaking not only to my Socialist comrades, but to all our British friends, whatever party they may belong to. I frequently hear people repeating: "We English will fight for Alsace-Lorraine because France demands Alsace-Lorraine." Others will go even further and say: "It is enough that our French allies demand Alsace-Lorraine to determine us never to lay down our arms until she has recovered that country."

We can but deeply feel such a delicate expression of complete friendship and of unconditional loyalty to the bond of alliance between the two nations. Would it be possible to show more unreserved confidence? But if France's aims were unjust, would the British people be bound to take the same attitude?

Supposing France wanted to annex

part of Germany, would the British people agree? France does not claim Alsace-Lorraine only because she is her own, but, by claiming Alsace-Lorraine, she demands that justice shall prevail. The question of Alsace-Lorraine is not merely a French question; it is an international question, in which mankind is interested.

Alsace-Lorraine kept under German rule means permanent violation of right in modern Europe. It means that a just peace, conformable to the right of nations, has not been secured. It means that the reign of justice has not superseded the hegemony of brutal force.

It is not only because the soldiers of the Marne and those of Verdun, by their heroic sacrifices in defense of our common civilization, have deserved to be rewarded by the restoration to France of her national unity, that Alsace and Lorraine must go back to France; it is because of the common will of the Allies to secure the restoration of justice in the world. Great Britain makes the French claim her own, not only because of her love for France, but because she has been, at all times, the defender of right.

German Proclamation to Italians

The full text of the proclamation issued by the German Military Government to the inhabitants of the conquered region of Northern Italy is reproduced below. When compared with General Allenby's proclamation to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, which provided for the carrying on of all business without interruption, the safeguarding of all buildings, and the protection of inhabitants of all creeds, it affords an illuminating example of the different ways in which Great Britain and Germany wage war. The German proclamation to the Italians is as follows:

PROCLAMATION issued by the Headquarters of the German Military Government at Udine to the Inhabitants of Conquered Italy.

A house-to-house search will be made for

all concealed arms, weapons, and ammunition.

All valuables remaining in the house must be delivered up.

Every citizen must obey our labor regulations.

ALL WORKMEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN OVER 15 YEARS OLD are obliged to work in the fields every day, Sundays included, from 4 A. M. to 8 P. M.

Disobedience will be PUNISHED in the following manner:

(1) Lazy workmen will be accompanied to their work and watched by Germans. After the harvest they will be IMPRISONED for six months, and every third day will be given NOTHING BUT BREAD AND WATER.

(2) Lazy women will be obliged to work, and after the harvest receive SIX MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT.

(3) LAZY CHILDREN WILL BE PUNISHED BY BEATING. THE COMMANDANT RESERVES THE RIGHT TO PUNISH LAZY WORKMEN WITH 20 LASHES DAILY.

Secret Treaty With Italy

Text of the Important Pact Made by Italy and the Entente Prior to That Nation's Entry Into the War

PUBLICATION of the secret treaties and diplomatic agreements between Russia and the Allies, which were found in the archives of the Foreign Office at Petrograd when the Bolsheviks seized power on Nov. 7, 1917, was begun Nov. 23 by Leon Trotsky, the Bolshevik Minister of Foreign Affairs. He had previously announced that he intended to take this step, which had been urged upon Kerensky and refused by him. On Nov. 15 Trotsky, finding the rooms of the Foreign Office closed, summoned all the Foreign Office officials to meet him there the following day. He arrived accompanied by Professor Polivavnov, whom he had appointed to search out the material, and obtained from the officials, thirty in number, a written statement of their willingness to assist. M. Dofrovol'ski, head of the Judicial Department, surrendered the keys to the archives, and prepared a statement that he had done this of his own volition and not through force.

TROTSKY'S REASONS

When the first publication was made, M. Trotsky gave the following reasons for his action:

In proceeding to publish the secret diplomatic documents dealing with the foreign policy of the Czarist and Bourgeois Coalition Governments during the first seven months of the revolution we are fulfilling the obligation which we took upon ourselves when our party was in opposition. Secret diplomacy is a necessary weapon in the hands of a propertied minority, which is compelled to deceive the majority in order to make the latter obey its interests. Imperialism, with its worldwide plans of annexation and its rapacious alliances and arrangements, has developed to the highest extent the system of secret diplomacy. The struggle against imperialism, which has ruined and drained of their blood the peoples of Europe, means at the same time the struggle against capitalist diplomacy, which has good reason to fear the light of day. The Russian people, as well as the peoples of Europe and of the whole world, must

know the documentary truth about those plots which were hatched in secret by financiers and industrialists, together with their parliamentary and diplomatic agents. The peoples of Europe have earned the right to know the truth about these things, owing to their innumerable sacrifices and the universal economic ruin.

To abolish secret diplomacy is the first condition of an honorable, popular, and really democratic foreign policy. The Soviet Government makes the introduction of such a policy its object. For this reason, while openly offering to all the belligerent peoples and their Governments an immediate armistice, we publish simultaneously those treaties and agreements which have lost all their obligatory force for the Russian workmen, soldiers, and peasants who have taken the Government into their hands. * * *

Bourgeois politicians and journalists of Germany and Austria-Hungary may endeavor to profit by the published documents in order to represent in a favorable light the diplomacy of the Central Empires. But every effort in this direction would be doomed to failure for two reasons. In the first place, we intend shortly to put before the public secret documents which will show up quite clearly the diplomacy of the Central Empires. In the second place—and this is the chief point—the methods of secret diplomacy are just as international as imperialist rapacity. When the German proletariat by revolutionary means gets access to the secrets of its Government Chancelleries, it will produce from them documents of just the same nature as those which we are now publishing. It is to be hoped that this will happen as soon as possible.

The Government of workmen and peasants abolishes secret diplomacy, with its intrigues, figures, and lies. We have nothing to conceal. Our program formulates the passionate wishes of millions of workmen, soldiers, and peasants. We desire a speedy peace so that the peoples may honorably live and work together. We desire a speedy deposition of the supremacy of capital. In revealing before the whole world the work of the governing classes as it is expressed in the secret documents of diplomacy, we turn to the workers with that appeal which will always form the basis of our foreign

policy: "Proletarists of all countries, unite!"

TEXT OF ITALY'S TREATY

The most interesting and important of the documents published was a secret treaty which Italy made with Russia, Great Britain, and France, and which was executed two weeks prior to Italy's entrance into the war, having been signed on May 9, 1915. The text of this treaty, as translated from the Russian by The New Europe of London, follows:

The Italian Ambassador in London, Marchese Imperiali, on instructions from his Government, has the honor to communicate to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey; to the French Ambassador, M. Cambon, and to the Russian Ambassador, Count Benckendorff, the following memorandum:

I. The Great Powers of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Italy shall, without delay, draw up a military convention by which are to be determined the minimum of military forces which Russia will be bound to place against Austria-Hungary in the event of the latter throwing all her forces against Italy. This military convention will also regulate the problems relating to a possible armistice, in so far as these do not by their very nature fall within the competence of the supreme command.

II. Italy on her part undertakes to conduct the war with all means at her disposal in agreement with France, Great Britain, and Russia, and against the States which are at war with them.

III. The naval forces of France and Great Britain will lend Italy their active co-operation until such time as the Austrian fleet shall be destroyed, or till the conclusion of peace. France, Great Britain, and Italy shall in this connection conclude without delay a naval convention.

What Italy Was Promised

IV. By the future treaty of peace Italy shall receive the Trentino, the whole of Southern Tyrol, as far as its natural and geographical frontier, the Brenner; the City of Trieste and its surroundings, the County of Gorizia and Gradisca, the whole of Istria as far as the Quarnero, including Volosca and the Istrian Islands, Cherso and Lussin, as also the lesser islands of Plavnik, Unia, Canidoli, Palazuola, S. Pietro Neroio, Asinello and Gruica, with their neighboring islets.

Note 1.—In carrying out what is said in Article IV, the frontier line shall be drawn along the following points: From the summit of Umbrile northward to the Stelvio, then along the watershed of the

Rhaetian Alps as far as the sources of the Rivers Adige and Eisach, then across the Mounts of Reschen and Brenner and the Etz and Ziller peaks. The frontier then turns southward, touching Mount Toblach, in order to reach the present frontier of Carniola, which is near the Alps. Along this frontier the line will reach Mount Tarvis and will follow the watershed of the Julian Alps beyond the crests of Predil, Mangart, and Tricorno, and the passes of Podberdo, Podlansko, and Idria. From here the line will turn in a southeast direction toward the Schneeberg in such a way as not to include the basin of the Save and its tributaries in Italian territory. From the Schneeberg the frontier will descend toward the seacoast, including Castua, Matuglia, and Volosca as Italian districts.

Dalmatia to Be Italian

V. In the same way Italy shall receive the Province of Dalmatia in its present extent, including further to the north Lisarika and Trebinje [i. e., two small places in Southwestern Croatia,] and to the south all places as far as a line starting from the sea close to Cape Planka [between Trau and Sebenico] and following the watershed eastward in such a way as to place in Italian hands all the valleys whose rivers enter the sea near Sebenico—namely, the Gikola, Krka, and Butisnjica, with their tributaries. To Italy also will belong all the islands north and west of the Dalmatian coast, beginning with Premuda, Selve, Ulbo, Skerda, Maon, Pago, and Puntadura, and further north and reaching to Meleda southward, with the addition of the islands of S. Andrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina, Tercola, Curzola, Cazza, and Lagosta and all the surrounding islets and rocks, and hence Pelagosa also, but without the islands of Grande and Piccola Zirona, Buje, Solta, and Brazza.

The following shall be neutralized: (1) The whole coast from Cape Planka on the north to the southern point of the peninsula of Sabbioncello on the south, this peninsula being included in the neutral zone. (2) Part of the coast from a point ten kilometers south of Ragusavecchia as far as the River Vojussa on the south, so as to include in the neutralized zone the whole Gulf of Cattaro, with its ports, Antivari, Duleigno, S. Giovanni di Medua, and Durazzo, with the reservation that Montenegro rights are not to be infringed in so far as they are based on the declarations exchanged between the contracting parties in April and May, 1909. These rights being recognized solely for Montenegro's present possessions, they shall not be extended to such regions and ports as may in the future be assigned to Montenegro. Hence no part of the coast which

today belongs to Montenegro shall be subject to neutralization in future. But all legal restrictions regarding the port of Antivari—to which Montenegro herself gave her adhesion in 1900—remain in vigor. (3) All the islands not assigned to Italy.

Note 2.—The following districts on the Adriatic shall by the work of the Entente Powers be included in the territory of Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro: To the north of the Adriatic the whole coast beginning at the Gulf of Volosca, near the frontier of Italy, as far as the northern frontier of Dalmatia, including the whole coast today belonging to Hungary; the whole coast of Croatia, the port of Fiume, and the small ports of Nevi and Carlopago, and in the same way the islands of Veglia, Pervicio, Gregorio, Kali, and Arbe. To the south of the Adriatic, where Serbia and Montenegro are interested, the whole coast from Cape Planka to the River Drin, with the very important ports of Spalato, Ragusa, Cattaro, Antivari, Dulcigno and S. Giovanni di Medua, as also the islands of Grande and Piccola Zirona, Buja, Solta, Brazza, Cikljan, and Calamotta.

The port of Durazzo can be assigned to the independent Mohammedan State of Albania.

VI. Italy shall obtain in full ownership Valona, the island of Saseno and territory of sufficient extent to assure her against dangers of a military kind—approximately between the River Vojussa to the north and east, and the district of Shimar to the south.

Partitioning Albania

VII. Having obtained Trentino and Istria by Article IV., Dalmatia and the Adriatic Islands by Article V., and also the Gulf of Valona, Italy undertakes, in the event of a small autonomous and neutralized State being formed in Albania, not to oppose the possible desire of France, Great Britain, and Russia to partition the northern and southern districts of Albania between Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece. The southern coast of Albania, from the frontier of the Italian territory of Valona to Cape Stilos, is to be neutralized.

To Italy will be conceded the right of conducting the foreign relations of Albania; in any case Italy will be bound to secure for Albania a territory sufficiently extensive to enable its frontiers to join those of Greece and Serbia to the east of the Lake of Ohrida.

VIII. Italy shall obtain full possession of all the islands of the Dodecanese, at present occupied by her.

IX. France, Great Britain, and Russia recognize as an axiom the fact that Italy is interested in maintaining the political

balance of power in the Mediterranean, and her right to take over, when Turkey is broken up, a portion equal to theirs in the Mediterranean—namely, in that part which borders on the Province of Adalia, where Italy had already acquired special rights and interests, laid down in the Italo-British convention. The zone to be assigned to Italy will, in due course, be fixed in accordance with the vital interests of France and Great Britain. In the same way regard must be had for the interests of Italy, even in the event of the powers maintaining for a further period of time the inviolability of Asiatic Turkey, and merely proceeding to map out spheres of interest among themselves. In the event of France, Great Britain, and Russia occupying during the present war districts of Asiatic Turkey, the whole district bordering on Adalia and defined above in greater detail, shall be reserved to Italy, who reserves the right to occupy it.

Italy in Africa

X. In Libya Italy obtains recognition of all those rights and prerogatives hitherto reserved to the Sultan by the Treaty of Lausanne.

XI. Italy shall receive a military contribution corresponding to her strength and sacrifices.

XII. Italy associates herself with the declaration made by France, Great Britain, and Russia, by which the Mohammedan holy places are to be left in the possession of an independent Mohammedan State.

XIII. In the event of an extension of the French and British colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany, France and Great Britain recognize to Italy in principle the right of demanding for herself certain compensations in the form of an extension of her possessions in Eritrea, Somaliland, Libya, and the colonial districts bordering on French and British colonies.

XIV. Great Britain undertakes to facilitate for Italy without delay and on favorable conditions the conclusion of a loan in the London market, amounting to not less than £50,000,000.

XV. France, Great Britain, and Russia undertake to support Italy in so far as she does not permit the representatives of the Holy See to take diplomatic action with regard to the conclusion of peace and the regulation of questions connected with the war.

XVI. The present treaty is to be kept secret. As regards Italy's adherence to the declaration of Sept. 5, 1914, this shall only be published after the declaration of war by and upon Italy.

The representatives of France, Great

Britain, and Russia, having taken cognizance of this memorandum, and being furnished with powers for this purpose, agreed as follows with the representative of Italy, who was also authorized by his Government for this purpose:

France, Great Britain, and Russia declare their full agreement with the present memorandum presented to them by the Italian Government. With regard to Points I., II., and III., (relating to the co-ordination of the military and naval operations of all four powers,) Italy declares that she will enter the war actively as soon as possible, and in any case not

later than one month after the signature of the present document on behalf of the contracting parties.

(Signed in four copies, April 26, 1915.)
EDWARD GREY, JULES CAMBON,
IMPERIALI, BENCKENDORFF.

[A number of secret telegrams disclosing agreements sent and received by the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs were published; such as have a permanent bearing on events will be printed in a subsequent number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

The Serbian Mission in America

By Milivoy S. Stanoyevich

IN the middle of November, 1917, the Serbian Government, following the example of the French, Belgian, and other allied Governments, announced its intention to send a diplomatic mission to the United States. The mission arrived in Washington on Dec. 20, 1917, and presented to President Wilson an autographed letter of King Peter, as a testimonial of the high regard which the Serbians feel for this country. The Commissioners included are the following: Dr. Milenko R. Vesnitch, Serbian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to France; Dr. Sima Lozanitch, former Minister of Agriculture and lately Minister Plenipotentiary at London; General Mihailo Rashitch, Commander in Chief of the Serbian Corps d'Armée in France; Lieut. Col. Mihailo Nenadovitch, Military Attaché of the Serbian Legation in Switzerland; Captain Milan Jovitchich, Aide de Camp to the Crown Prince; Mr. Vladislav Martinats, Secretary to the Serbian Legation at Paris.

ADDRESS TO THE SENATE

On Jan. 5, 1918, the Serbian envoys appeared before the Senate and were introduced by Vice President Thomas R. Marshall. Presenting the mission to the Senators, Mr. Marshall said:

Senators, even so untrained a mind as mine can grasp the artistic possibilities of this scene. Here you are, the representatives of a free people, because your

forebears heard and heeded the agonizing cry of Patrick Henry in the Virginia House of Burgesses. Here they are, the representatives of a people who for nearly six centuries, in mortal combat with the Austrians and the Turks, have written in the blood of their sons, upon the green sward of every mountainside and every valley of the Balkans, the immortal cry of Henry. * * * Here you both are, this day, each a worthy representative of his race, clasping hands in the midnight darkness and solemnly vowing that the morrow's morn will find you and yours as always consecrated to liberty or to death.

Dr. Vesnitch, the head of the mission, spoke after the Vice President. He brilliantly expressed in English the true spirit of the country represented by him and his colleagues, gathered at this memorable meeting. Asserting that the United States would not take the part of a spectator when humanity struggled for its highest ideals, he went on to say:

From over the ocean we have anxiously listened to the epoch-making declarations of the eminent leader of the greatest and purest democracy that history has ever known, and we have been happy in understanding that this Senate was in complete harmony with the ideas of the dignified successor of Washington and of Lincoln. Your President said in his address: "We believe in peace, but we believe also in justice and righteousness and liberty." More than anybody we believe with President Wilson that peace cannot subsist without justice, without liberty and righteousness.

With golden characters, all liberty-loving nations will inscribe forever in their hearts

and souls this President's and your program, following which America stands, first of all, for the right of men to determine whom they will obey and whom they will serve; for the right of political freedom and a people's sovereignty; for the equality of nations, which means the equality of rights, neither recognizing nor implying a difference between great nations and small ones, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and no right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. * * *

We also accept with enthusiasm the doctrine of Monroe as the doctrine of the world. We are happy in being permitted to share with you the belief that right shall command might, and that it ought not to be dishonored in its inception.

The Serbian Nation, with their kinsmen, the Croats and Slovenes, have suffered in this war more than any other nation, but today I shall not make an appeal to you on this behalf. I am proud to say we have fought for our liberties as bravely as any one of our gallant allies.

We, too, have faith with you, Mr. President of the Senate, that the morning light will break in this good year at hand, and that it will break with the sun of liberty rising upon a rose-tinted sky. We, too, have in this solemn hour a vision and we voice our unalterable faith that this magnificent republic is to lead the nations of the world into the mountain of perfect peace, and to become the arbiter of them all; for, we know that the American commandments of peace are commandments of justice, which alone will enable mankind to improve in free evolution.

TRIBUTE TO WASHINGTON

On Jan. 8 the mission was received by the House of Representatives and introduced by the Speaker, Mr. Champ Clark. Dr. Vesnitch told the House that Serbia, although one of the smallest of nations, would lend her resources and man power to the prosecution of a war which would relieve her from the oppression of the Prussian heel. Voicing Serbia's confidence in the United States Government, he declared that his only wish was that he could be heard by all the American people when expressing to them the gratitude of his country.

A day later the mission paid a visit to Mount Vernon, and in the presence of Secretary Lansing and other representa-

tives of official Washington placed a wreath upon the tomb of Washington. Dr. Vesnitch spoke of his people's love for liberty. "This, alas," he said, "has brought us misfortune; the autocrats and the despots surrounding us, the Teutons and the Turks, have rushed upon us, and have crucified Serbia; nay, our whole race, the Jugoslavs. We have believed in the moral and in the political gospel which Washington preached and which he confirmed by his life; we shall arise again; the heroic Argonauts whom General Pershing commands in Europe will complete the work of our liberty. Jerusalem and Mount Vernon greet each other today; here have stood the representatives of nearly 600,000,000 people, and others will come; Marshal Joffre has bowed before this tomb; we do so in the name of our martyred fatherland, and in the name of our decimated but still unvanquished army, hopeful and confident of a better future."

VISIT TO WESTERN CITIES

There is no doubt that the most impressive ceremonies of the journeys which these delegates have made through the United States were the visit to the tomb of Washington and the visit to Congress, already mentioned. But these two occasions were only a little less important than the welcome extended to the mission wherever it has been.

From Washington Dr. Vesnitch and his staff traveled westward, visiting Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Chicago, and St. Louis. It was in St. Louis that this prominent Serbian diplomat and his friends, General Rashitch and Dr. Lozanitch, encouraged the Jugoslavs to enlist to fight for democracy. Before a large audience of the Slavic and American people he spoke as follows:

The Jugoslavs should make no distinction between the United States flag and the flag of Serbia, but they should be under one of them. * * * One of the first causes of this war is found in the fact that the Serbians and the Jugoslavs represent the spirit of America; they oppose German autocracy and tyranny with the spirit of liberty. * * * Democracy means that the individuals of nations must live together as equals in every respect; autocracy means that one shall command

and all others shall obey; Germany believes that she is destined to command, and that the rest of the world must obey; Serbia has opposed and always will oppose this idea.

From St. Louis the Serbian Mission turned again east, and visited Buffalo, Boston, New York, and Albany. In Boston the members were presented on Jan. 18 to the Massachusetts Legislature, and Governor McCall delivered an address of welcome before a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives. Paying tribute to Serbia for its age-long struggle for freedom, first against the Mohammedans, now against both Mohammedans and Germans, Governor McCall called upon the United States to assist in rebuilding the little nation, which is "small in stature but mighty in spirit."

ADDRESS IN BOSTON

Dr. Vesnitch addressed the Massachusetts lawmakers in a thrilling speech, which reached its climax when he said of the enemy Teutons, "They have been able to destroy our bodies, but they have not been able to reach our hearts and our souls." Further on he told of the unfortunate position of Serbia, placed between the Roman and Byzantine Empires originally, and suffering from the aggressions of both. He told of the glorious history of his country in the wars against the Turks.

During more than five centuries [he said] we contested the ground, foot by foot, with the Turk, and our heroes even fought to defend Vienna. Through years and years our rivers ran red with blood, and at the end, toward the beginning of the nineteenth century, we succeeded in repelling the invaders from a part of our country. * * * To the defense and protection of our democracy we have devoted all our resources; for these ideals we have sacrificed our lives. Aided by the Turks and Bulgarians, the Prussians and the Austro-Hungarians have invaded and devastated our country, destroyed our homes, burned our villages, profaned our churches, pillaged our libraries, killed our children, violated our sisters, our wives, and even our grandmothers. They have been able to destroy our bodies, but they have not been able to reach our souls and our hearts. Since the first days of our tragedy the Central Powers have attempted to corrupt us by proposing to our Government a separate peace; we have never been able to understand that lan-

guage, because we have never doubted that their peace would mean slavery to us; we have never been able to understand their insinuations, because our history of fifteen centuries has never known treachery to our friends and allies.

After the conclusion of Dr. Vesnitch's address, the convention was dismissed, and the Governor, his council, and the guests adjourned to Memorial Hall, where a reception was held.

HONORED BY NEW YORK

On the next day, Jan. 19, the commission came back to New York and was cordially received by Mayor Hylan and other city officials. The distinguished guests entered City Hall under a military and naval guard of honor, whose massed bands played the Serbian national anthem. Standing on the same dais which had received Joffre, Balfour, Viviani, and other allied envoys, the Serbian visitors heard the Mayor of the national metropolis pay high tribute to the valorous deeds of the little Slavic State. During the three days of the visit of this mission New York City had more than one opportunity of expressing its chivalry and courtesy toward Serbia and her representatives. A reception at the Morgan Library, a visit to Grant's Tomb, and an outing to West Point were incidents in the greeting which the great city on the Hudson extended to its guests. Perhaps the climax of all these ceremonies came on Jan. 20, when at the Astor Hotel the Slavic organizations in New York gathered to greet the representatives of their sister nation, Serbia, in whom they place their great hope for the future. Here were represented the Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Czecho-Slovak, and Polish societies. They passed a resolution expressing appreciation for the efforts of the United States on behalf of small nations. "The Western and Southern Slavs," so ran a statement in this resolution, "greet 'the struggle of the subjugated Slavic nationalities in Austria-Hungary, and 'see in the dissolution of the Hapsburg Monarchy the fundamental principle of 'a durable peace in Europe. The Jugo-slavs, the Czecho-Slovaks, and the Poles 'in America are firmly determined to 'form with their compatriots in the 'motherland a defensive bloc against

"Austria-Hungary. They will not surrender arms in the struggle until all Slavs under a foreign yoke are delivered and are able to form their own independent States capable of living in culture and civilization."

OBJECTS AND RESULTS

On Jan. 4 Dr. Vesnitch said to the present writer: "Certain newspapers have assumed a mistaken idea as to the object of our mission, in thinking that we have come to influence in any way the President and the United States Government to declare war against Turkey and Bulgaria. Our range is not so broad as was that of the British, French, Italian, and Russian Missions. We have come to this country to extend our gratitude and congratulations to the President and America for entering the war against the Central Powers, and to inform their statesmen about the true situation in the Balkans."

However, such was not the only object in the minds of the Serbian official delegates to America. They came with the further intention of urging the United States to grant another loan and to aid Serbian recruiting. Already 20,000 Southern Slavs from America have

joined the expeditionary forces in Macedonia. In the City of New York a permanent Serbian war mission was formed for enlisting the Yugoslavs. The third purpose of the Serbian diplomatic delegation was to study American military and agricultural measures and to arrange for supplies to be transported to the Serbian armies in France and Macedonia.

Significant are Dr. Vesnitch's utterances in Chicago. It was here that he stirred a great audience of 10,000 Americans and Slavs with these words: "Yugoslav unity is a fact; to the restoration of Serbia the United States of America is pledged." He also told of having seen General Pershing in France, together with many other notable Generals, all of whom were of the same opinion—that the end of the war must be victory for the Allies. "The only thing we need," added Dr. Vesnitch, "is steel, much steel."

Besides arousing America to take an interest in South Slavic political affairs, the Serbian Mission has achieved other valuable results: It has effected a fuller understanding between two nations, geographically far segregated, but spiritually akin in their democratic ideals.



The Tragedy of the Lithuanians

A Historical Sketch

IF the formula of President Wilson, "The world must be made safe for democracy," is realized, the national status of Eastern Europe and Asia Minor will be entirely transformed. In fact, nowhere on earth can the changes be so radical as in the stretch of territory between the Balkan Peninsula and a line extending from the Persian Gulf to the Baltic Sea. The number of separate nationalities existing in that area is greater than in any region of equal extent on the globe. There dwell the Persians, the Arabs, Syrians, Jews, Turks, Armenians, Georgians, Circassians, Tartars, Greeks, Albanians, Serbians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Russians, Ukrainians, Bohemians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Austrians, Germans, Poles, Finns, and Lithuanians. These twenty-four nationalities, with separate ethnic roots, differing in language, culture, customs, ideals, and traditions, are subdivided into smaller units of differing individualities, and form an almost inextricable conglomerate mass of diverse races, infusible and nonassimilable, though they have dwelt side by side for many centuries.

WRONGS OF THE LITHUANIANS

The revolution in Russia, the direct outcome of the war, has given a new impetus to separatist movements among these numerous peoples, the smaller branches having long been restless under the autocratic dominion of Russia, Germany, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary. This agitation in recent months has attained an accelerated pace, until now the whole of Europe and Asia is seething with individualism, and the movement has gathered such force that the momentous issues of the European war no longer merely involve German-Austrian aspirations for domination, but affect the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of every separate nationality on earth.

Among the nationalities which are comparatively unknown, and which find

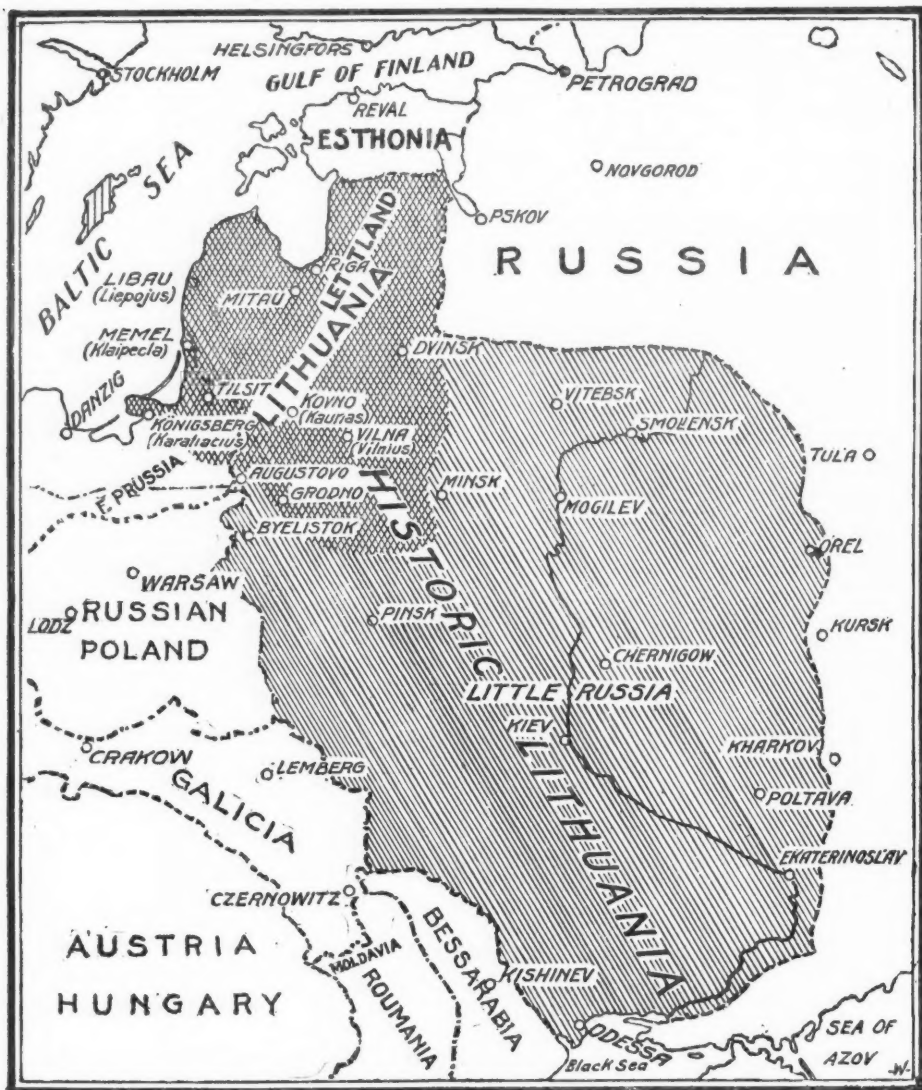
few champions in America, are the Lithuanians, a race who have suffered—at the hands of Austria, Russia, and Prussia—tyranny, cruelty, spoliation no whit less flagrant than that suffered by Poland, yet who by ethnical distinction, language, religion, and traditions are entitled to an independent existence based on definite historical rights, as much so as any other race in Europe, Asia, or America.

Lithuania at present has an area of 131,995 square miles, equal in extent to England, Wales, and Ireland combined, and includes the provinces of Kovno, Vilna, Suvalki, (the latter a part of Russian Poland,) part of Grodno, Minsk, and Vitebsk, with just claims on Lettland, Courland, and Livonia. Its present population is around 7,000,000. This territory has been almost entirely occupied by the Germans, who swept over it in the campaign of 1915, and they have flatly refused the demand of the Bolsheviks to evacuate any portion of it, to give the residents freedom of action in determining their future status, and have clearly indicated that they are definitely resolved to annex it to the German Empire.

Lithuania, following the course of Finland, Ukraine, and other provinces of the former Czar's domain, has formally declared its independence. On Jan. 8, 1918, a conference of Lithuanian delegates was held at Stockholm, (following one held in the previous October in Vilna, which was attended by 250 delegates from all parts of Lithuania,) and unanimously adopted a resolution favoring independence for Lithuania and its voluntary union with Lettland.

AN INDO-EUROPEAN RACE

Dr. John Szlupas, a member of the Lithuanian Society of Science, who is an American citizen residing at Scranton, Penn., and who is now in Lithuania, has made an exhaustive study of the origin of the Lithuanians. He holds that they



LITHUANIA, PAST AND PRESENT: LIGHTER SHADING SHOWS ANCIENT BOUNDARIES. HEAVIER SHADING SHOWS PRESENT REGION DESIRING NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

were the powerful nation of antiquity known as the Hittites. They are a distinct Indo-European race, fair, light-haired, blue-eyed, tall and strong, and are in no way related to Slav or Teuton. Ptolemy mentions two clans, the Galendae and Sudeni, who probably belonged to the western subdivision of this racial group known as the Borussians, or Prussians of today. In the tenth century they were known under the name of Litva, and, together with the Letts and

Borussians, they occupied the south-eastern coast of the Baltic Sea from the Vistula to the Dvina, occupying the tract between Finland in the north to the Slavic countries almost to the Black Sea. The country is forested and marshy, and they were thus enabled to maintain a separate existence, retaining their natural characteristics, and at no time did they assimilate with the Slavs, Teutons, or Poles, notwithstanding they were joined for centuries in Govern-

mental union with the latter. The Lithuanian language denotes their ethnical relationship to the Thracians. It is closely akin to the Sanskrit and ancient Greek in vocabulary, forms, and structure.

During the forty years preceding the present war the Russian Government endeavored by every means of oppression, restrictive laws, and cruel punishments to extirpate the Lithuanian language. Decrees were promulgated with extreme penalties excluding the language from courts, commerce schools, and church; the dissemination of Lithuanian books, papers, and periodicals was forbidden; raids, search, fines, imprisonment, and deportations to Siberia were matters of daily occurrence; thousands of books and pamphlets were burned in the market place in Vilnius, (Vilna,) the chief city, and tens of thousands of volumes were annually confiscated. In fact, in 1897 the Czar induced the Kaiser to join him in suppressing Lithuanian language publications in Prussia, and special police agents were appointed in Königsberg and Tilsit, (former Lithuanian territory,) to carry out these edicts, but the indomitable will of the people was proof against this tyrannous exercise of authority, and after seven years of futile effort the decree of prohibition was set aside, on May 7, 1904. Immediately there followed an enormous output of Lithuanian literature in Latin characters. Many new elementary and higher schools and gymnasiums were established. In St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Kiev, Dorpat, and Riga student circles were established, yet the Russian Government up to the downfall refused to restore the Lithuanian University of Vilnius.

HISTORY OF THE NATION

In the tenth century the Lithuanians were divided into three main branches, the Borussians, or Prussians, the Letts, and the Lithuanians proper. They had no towns or fortified places, and were subdivided into numerous independent clans and villages, separated from one another by forests and marshes. They thus lay open to foreign invasions. They were surrounded by Russians, Germans, and Poles. The Borussians first fell

under the dominion of the Germans and gave their name to the State which later became Prussia. The Letts were driven north and fell under the dominion of the Livonians. The Lithuanians proper, together with a branch known as the Samogitians, succeeded in forming an independent State. Little is known of this, except that there was continuous war with the Slavs.

The first chief known in history was Ryngold, whose son Mendowe accepted Christianity and became King in 1252, and met death by assassination in 1263. The dominion of Lithuania was extended greatly in subsequent years, embracing principalities from the Danube to the Black Sea. Jogiello, one of the later Kings, married the Queen of Poland, Yadviga, and on Feb. 14, 1386, was crowned King of Poland.

The dominions of Lithuania were further extended to the shores of the Sea of Azov, thus including Kiev and Lutsk. The union with Poland continued nominally for nearly 200 years, interrupted by frequent outbreaks and petty wars, but on July 1, 1569, under Sigismundus Augustus, a complete union was effected, and the history of Independent Lithuania came to an end.

There followed a long struggle between the Protestant, Greek Orthodox, and Roman Catholic elements of the country, waged with all the fury and bitterness which marked religious warfare in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The country was in a perpetual ferment, due to the conflicts between the Roman Catholics and the dissenters and to the efforts of the Polish aristocracy to dominate all the Lithuanian territories.

PARTITION OF POLAND

The internal disturbances continued almost without interruption for over 200 years, when in 1791 a Prussian army entered Poland, and the first partition was decided on by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Russia appropriated Levland, Polotzk, Vitebsk, and a part of Minsk, 1,692 square miles; Austria took Osviecim and Zator, with Red Russia, a total of 1,508 square miles; Prussia received Varmia and Pomerania, a total of 660 square

miles. Poland lost 4,000,000 of her inhabitants by this first partition. The internal troubles were not stilled, however, and religious warfare was continued with unabated fury. The country was in continual civil revolt. A new Constitution was adopted in 1791, whereby Lithuania became fully incorporated with Poland.

A new rebellion immediately followed, and a second partition of Poland was decided upon by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Prussia appropriated 1,060 square miles, Russia took part of the Palatinates of Vilnius, Minsk, Volhynia, Kiev, Podolia, a total of 4,500 square miles, and there remained of Poland only 3,830 square miles and 4,000,000 inhabitants.

REVOLT OF KOSCIUSZKO

Insurrections and revolts followed, the most important being led by Kosciuszko, who was conspicuous in the American Revolution. He was a Lithuanian, not a Pole, as is generally supposed. This revolt at first met with success, but was finally subdued, and in 1795 the third partition of Poland occurred. Russia this time received Lithuania and Lettonia, with the cities of Vilnius, Kaunas, Grodno, Mitau, and Brest, (where the peace negotiations between the Bolsheviks and the Germans were recently held)—a total of 2,183 square miles; Austria received Cracow, Kielce, Radom, Lublin, and Zamosc, 835 square miles, and Prussia's share was 697 square miles lying between the Pilica, Bug, and Niemen Rivers, together with the City of

Warsaw. Not a protest was raised by any European nation; by the irony of fate the only nation that voiced disapproval was Turkey.

From this time forth the history of Lithuania was a sad tale of tyranny, oppression, and spoliation by the Russians. The blackest period was under the reign of Alexander II., about 1860, but there was little improvement between that date and the outbreak of the European war in 1914. It was especially between 1863 and 1890 that the Russian Government determined to "Russianize" the Lithuanian people, and to accomplish this appointed cruel and tyrannous dictators to achieve their purpose. They instituted merciless regulations with diabolical malignity to crush the Lithuanian spirit, to extinguish every spark of nationality, and to force the Greek Orthodox Church upon the inhabitants by inexorable decrees and cruel laws.

This was the state of the unhappy country when the war of 1914 burst forth, and soon there followed a tragedy for the people of that unfortunate district which surpassed in horror all the calamities of the preceding centuries.

Situated as a buffer State between the colossal armies of Germany and Russia, Lithuania became the battleground of the contending hosts in the first impact. In 1915 the Germans succeeded in driving back the Russians and occupied practically the whole of Lithuania, which they still securely hold in 1918.

Horrors of the Invasion of Lithuania

By a Lithuanian

The horrors of the German invasion of Lithuania are here told by an American Lithuanian, a man of high standing, who spent the greater part of 1916 and much of 1917 in his native country, returning to the United States in the Fall of 1917. His name cannot be disclosed, as the Germans have it in their power to wreak vengeance on his family and estates were his identity known. He has prepared for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE the appended narrative of German outrages in the region he visited.

SINCE the occupation of Lithuania by the Germans (1914) communication with the outside world has been cut off. As a consequence,

Lithuanians living in the United States (about 750,000 in number) did not fully know what had happened to their native country. While secretly receiving fright-

ful news about German domination in their beloved land, it was nevertheless difficult to determine the real situation.

After invading, the Germans looted Lithuania and took everything of value to Germany. Property that did not appeal to them, such as furniture, books, pictures, &c., they destroyed on the spot. Homes were burned, innocent people tortured and murdered. In the methods of torturing they have surpassed the barbarians of the eleventh century.

It was a terrible time for girls! These poor creatures, some only 14 years of age, were stripped of all clothing, then publicly violated—afterward murdered. Many mothers, with tears in their eyes, told the delegates how their young daughters were dragged away while they knelt before soldiers and officers, kissing their hands and beseeching for the lives of their loved ones. But the "Kultured" ear was deaf to their prayers, and the innocent girls were outraged and murdered in the presence of their parents. Infuriated fathers, sons, and brothers, attempting to protect their wives and sisters, their mothers and daughters, were hanged to the nearest trees. Pregnant women were ill-treated, kicked, and some of them hanged by Germans. Little children were wrested from their mothers' hands and hurled against the walls of buildings.

In the district of Suvalki, in the evacuated German trenches, were found the bodies of fourteen girls between 14 and 20 years of age. In other German trenches on the banks of the Dubisa River there were found ten bodies of young girls. This was also true of several other places where the Germans had previously been. The people who were forced to dig trenches for Germans testified that these girls had been seized by German soldiers for use of their officers, and then turned back so these same soldiers could finish them.

INDESCRIBABLE SUFFERINGS

Here is a real picture presented by one of the Lithuanian writers:

"The misery and sufferings of the unfortunate populace are indescribable. It is beyond human power to relieve the grief, the mental anguish, the tor-

tures of those afflicted by this calamity. Many die of wounds; many are driven mad. Some, in agony, destroy themselves while protesting against the evil that has overwhelmed humanity. Too proud to receive sympathy and offended by the sight of human degradation, for relief they turn their eyes heavenward, but the gloomy, obscured horizon reflects only the flames of conflagrations devouring their unfortunate, blood-covered native land.

"They hear the cries of tortured brothers and sisters; the sharp, agonized voices pierce their aching hearts! They hear the roar of cannon that sounds to them like the laughter of an inferno mocking at human misery, at the Utopian dreams of universal brotherhood, at the attempts of doctrinaires and preachers of 'Love thy brother as thyself' to elevate an always envious, an ever greedy, superselfish humanity. Unconsoled by the faintest ray of hope from any source, in deepest despair, they seek a tragic end!"

FORCED INTO PROSTITUTION

After occupying Lithuania, the Germans established a strict military rule. Communication between cities and villages was cut off. Crossing the rivers is forbidden under penalty of death. People are confined in their homes—principally dugouts—between the hours of 10 at night and 7 in the morning. A disregard of this restriction brings severe punishment.

In the cities and villages German officers issued orders to former local officials to establish "red light districts" for Germans. Compliance would have been extremely unpopular in Lithuania and against the traditions of that country, so, despite menacing punishment, the officials emphatically refused to obey. Of course, they were punished—shot, or at least exiled to prison camps. Notwithstanding the resistance offered by the people, the Germans themselves established these "red light districts," not only in the cities, but in the villages as well. Then they forced mere girls and the younger women into them. To absolve themselves from such disgraceful deeds, these "red light districts"

were by Germans named "hospitals," and the people taxed to maintain them.

Numerous Lithuanian girls committed suicide just to escape German hands. Others dressed in the garb of old women and hobbled about on crutches. Some applied black paint to their bodies. Not a few burned their faces, hoping thus to prevent disgrace by destroying their beauty. Many were the ingenious schemes employed by young womanhood to protect itself from the bestial Germans.

Later on German officers sought to deal with the women with less violence, but husbands and brothers interfered, so the Germans decided to deport the male population to Germany and thus have undisputed mastery over the women left behind unprotected.

DESTROYING ALL RESOURCES

The pillage of the country was so thorough that even church bells and door knobs were gathered. Although the invaders attempted to confiscate everything of value, it remains to the credit of Lithuanians that this destructive work was not so easily accomplished, because Lithuanians know the Germans too well. They know them both from their own experience as neighbors and from stories about the "hideous Teutons" related by their ancestors. Consequently, the people of Lithuania took the best precautions to prevent being robbed of all their possessions.

To protect their animals they underfed them, giving only enough food to keep them alive. Upon learning that the Germans were coming to one of their villages, the Lithuanian peasants strove to conceal their possessions; foodstuffs and clothing they hid under ground, or, tightly packed in wooden boxes, suspended them in the tops of trees. If they did not succeed in hiding horses and cows in deserted trenches, or by better means, the next best thing to do was to drive a spike into the animal's foot. (Germans do not want lame horses.) When the invaders leave the village the poor peasant pulls out the spike and treats the animal to the best of his ability.

So skillful were the means adopted to

save property that the Germans soon saw how useless it was to endeavor to rob the people by force. Then they decided to use the real Teutonic method. They published an announcement in the Lithuanian and Russian languages ordering the people to surrender willingly their domestic animals, clothing, food, and everything usable. Whoever failed to comply with this demand was to be severely punished. From then on for all things taken certain cards were to be issued, redeemable in money after the war. Naturally, at first the Lithuanians did not take all for granted. After a while, however, they thought there might be some truth in the German promise; also knowing that, while they could succeed possibly nine times out of ten in hiding things, the tenth time they might fail, and then not only lose everything, but be made to suffer.

That was why the people decided to dispose of their property, exchanging it for cards which it was supposed would be the same as money after the war. These cards were carefully guarded as precious treasures, because the only hope of restoring their lost property and ruined homes was in the cards.

American-Lithuanian delegates saw these cards; they read them. Thousands of them are in possession of the Lithuanian people. These cards are written in the German language. Most of the Lithuanian peasants do not understand German. They had to rely on German "sincerity" and on the figures which were supposed to represent the amount allowed for the goods taken from them.

It was a most painful experience for the people when they discovered that these cards were worse than worthless. They were without signature. The wording was offensive. For instance, there were taken from a peasant three cows and his last two horses; he received a card supposedly for 700 rubles (Russian money)—100 for each cow and 200 for each horse. Here we read: "If this peasant asks for money, give him 700 lashes." Another poor man received a card for 200 rubles in payment of his two small pigs and only cow. On it was written: "This fool peasant has 200

AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN TRAINING



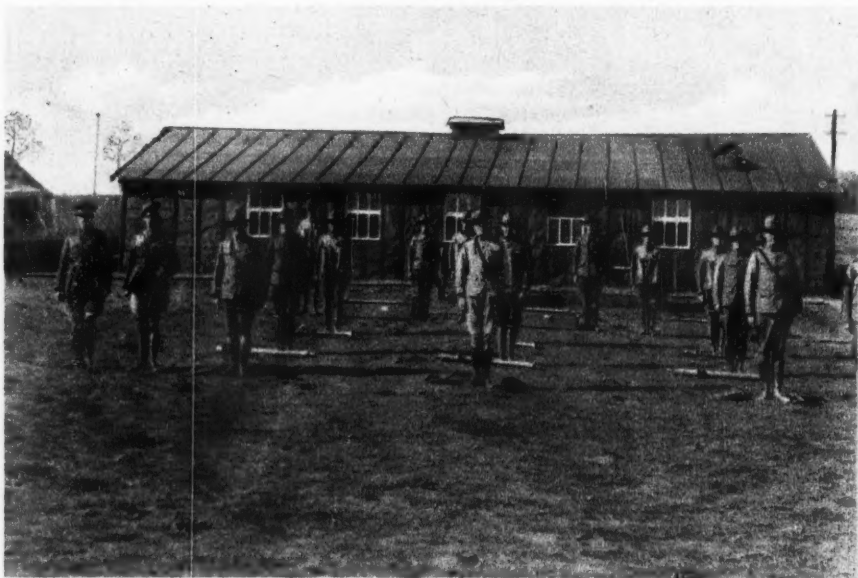
These men at Camp Dix, N. J., are learning how to use machine guns in repelling an assault by the enemy.

(Times Photo Service.)

THE UNITED STATES ARMY AT HOME AND ABROAD



Marching over the frozen ground at Camp Upton, N. Y.
(© Western Newspaper Union.)



Officers receiving instruction in handling the Stokes mortar at a
British Corps School in France.
(© Underwood and Underwood.)

lice." Still another mark of civilization: "This man kissed my horse 400 times; he is a fool." One more: "The meat was good; 500 rubles shall be paid to you by Russians."

ROBBED EVEN OF CARDS

Gradually the Germans themselves began to realize that they would be convicted by the civilized world for such disgraceful work; so they decided to conceal their crimes. Hence the issuance of a new proclamation, telling all who had received certain cards for their property and wished to get money that they must turn these cards in to certain officials within a specified time.

Some of the people tried to comply, but the cards were taken away from them and they were told that "when the time comes you shall receive your money." No name or address has ever been asked of any person. If some one was brave enough to ask the official for some kind of identification or the return of his card that man was beaten and kicked out of the office, or was tied up publicly to the pole and kept for several hours, while he was flogged to break the monotony.

The Germans, seeing that not many were turning in their cards, issued another proclamation threatening severe punishment for noncompliance. So we see how, with these cards, the Germans, without any trouble on their part, robbed honest people of all they once possessed.

TAXING THE DOGS

Heavy taxes were imposed on Lithuania. Every man between 16 and 60 years of age had to pay 6 marks a year. The right is reserved by the local authorities to raise individual taxes when it is found he has more means than first reported. This can be made as high as 6,000 marks from each person. These taxes go entirely to the Germans. Dogs are also taxed—in the country 10 marks and in the cities 30 marks.

The Germans did everything in their power to take out of Lithuania all Russian money and to circulate in its place German paper money, but the people refused to acquiesce. They termed German money "bottle labels."

To profit by the situation, the rate of

exchange for rubles was lowered. While in the first half of 1916 the rate everywhere was from 1.90 to 2 marks, the Germans put the official rate in Lithuania at 1.50.

Such commodities as sugar, flour, drugs, and soap would not be sold unless the people traded with gold. (Later there was no soap at all.) When gold became scarce they asked for Russian money of any kind. Later on the Germans issued a new paper currency, imitating Russian rubles, except that this "money" was printed in the German and Lithuanian languages. The Germans called it "Lithuanian money," and there was no guarantee behind it.

PLIGHT OF LITHUANIAN JEWS

There are many Jews in Lithuania; particularly in the principal cities, Vilnius (Vilna) and Kaunas (Kovno). These people made their living by keeping stores. Very few Jews engage in agriculture. The Germans robbed their homes, their stores, and left them to face starvation. At present there is no other way for them to make a living. In place of Jewish stores, Germans opened their own and did the business themselves.

While the American-Lithuanian delegates were in Kovno many Jewish mothers wept as they complained to them of German brutality and told how Jewish families were forced to send their daughters to the soldiers in order to get money enough to buy bread.

I will mention one out of hundreds of similar incidents which prove that Germans are heartless. The Lithuanians were planning for the Easter holiday. This holiday is a great event in Lithuania. No matter how poor a man may be, he tries, to the best of his ability, to meet that day fully prepared. New clothes are provided or old ones cleaned. Special care is exercised to have the best food with which to celebrate Easter. Even during the war and in the midst of great misery they did not forget that day. Under great difficulties and trying conditions they made ready to celebrate. But on the eve of observing this holiday, (April 23, 1916,) the Germans made an unexpected raid on the villages

in the district of Kovno and confiscated everything that had been specially gotten together for the Easter rejoicing. Instead of joyful reunions the Lithuanian Easter holiday that year was marked by sadness, by countless aching hearts and starving souls—all because of German atrociousness. * * *

GERMAN LANGUAGE USED

All Lithuanian newspapers have suspended publication. In their place the Germans publish one paper (Dabartis) in the Lithuanian language, and through this paper they try to bring the people to the Kaiser's feet. But the Lithuanians refused to read this paper and asked permission to publish their own. This was denied. Likewise they sought to open primary and secondary schools in which the instruction should be in the Lithuanian tongue. The Germans opened some of the schools, but there is no place for the Lithuanian language. Even in the conducting of municipalities and tribunals—everywhere—the German language must be used.

The Germans enforced this rule in Lithuania, notably in the cities of Vilna and Kovno. Here all clergymen were obliged to salute German officers by removing hats; also the school children are forced, under punishment, to salute the officers—boys by removing their hats and girls by courtesying. The children can hardly distinguish officers from privates, and to escape punishment they are obliged to salute every one in uniform. The private soldiers are now so used to this that they require it. The saluting high school girl of 15 or 16 officers and privates take by the hand without any further formality.

KAISER HONORS HANGMAN

The following is an extract from the Bulletin of the Bureau of Information of Lithuania, published in Switzerland, 1917:

Prince Esenburg von Birnstein, Civil Governor of Lithuania, has been elected "Doctor Honoris Causa" by the University of Fribourg, in Brisgan, for "services" rendered to the German cause in Lithuania.

These services consisted in requisitioning all personal property in the country and

its exportation into Germany; in the deportation of the youth, and in the compulsory introduction of the German language in all of the schools and public institutions of Lithuania.

This Prince is distinguished for brutality and is without an equal in this respect. He has introduced into Lithuania corporal punishments and slavery.

Here is a citation of the official announcement issued Nov. 6, 1916, at the City of Vilnius, (Vilna,) capital of Lithuania:

Complying with the orders of the Chief Commander of the Eastern Armies, (Hindenburg,) all the men between 17 and 60 years of age, both inclusive, living in the province of Vilna, are being called for examination as to their fitness for work. They must report according to the numbers on their passports, issued by Ober-Ost, at the City of Vilna, ranging from Nos. 1 to 45,000.

Those exempted are: All clergymen, teachers, physicians, dentists, pharmacists; but at the time of their call, according to the numbers of their passports, they must pay 600 marks to the German Stadthauptmann.

This money will be used for a supply of clothing to be provided those called to work, and for the support of their families.

Those failing to comply with this request, and failing to give reasonable cause, shall be punished by imprisonment for three years, or fined up to 10,000 marks, or both.

Der Stadthauptmann, I. V. PILTZ.
Vilna, Nov. 6, 1916.

In writing this story I have purposely omitted the names of people and places, fearing that it might bring harm to those living in the immediate sections referred to. Much has been too hideous to describe in detail, but after the war those who had to bear these things shall tell you, as I believe the Germans cannot succeed in murdering all who oppose them. But if they should, then the bones of the people shall speak to you; the trees on which they were hanged shall recite you the story; the bloody walls at which babies were killed shall present to you the sad picture furnished by the "Kultur tr gers." The Germans cannot hide all their crimes, and the whole civilized world shall know the truth some day.

Those responsible for these crimes in Lithuania are the chief military ruler, von Hindenburg, and his aids—Prince

Esenburg von Birstein, who is the Civil Governor of Kovno and Courland Provinces; Count York, Governor of Vilna and Suwalki Provinces; Pohl, Burgomeister of the City of Vilna; Major Putkammer, and Mohl, from the staff of Prince Esenburg, who has offices in the City of Kovno. Some people in Berlin who are most responsible are Herr Traut-

man, from the Department of Justice, and Baron Ropp, the Kaiser's hand, (a German possessing large estates in Lithuania.) These are the principal murderers. Obviously, at the head of all of them stands the Kaiser.

All these people deserve a noose actively associated with the branch of a dead tree!

How the War Transformed England

By Sir John Foster Fraser, F. R. G. S.

Sir John Foster Fraser, who has written this article for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, is a distinguished British Parliamentary correspondent, author, and traveler. His wanderings have taken him through every continent on the globe, and his travel books include "The Real Siberia," "Red Russia," "Pictures from the Balkans," "Canada as It Is," and "America at Work." He is now visiting the United States. His wife is an American.

ONE of these days we will take reckoning, not only on the war as it has affected nations, but on the consequences socially in various belligerent countries. Things have happened in Great Britain since the outbreak of hostilities in the Summer of 1914 which no Englishman dreamed were possible; anybody who presumed to prophesy them would have been dismissed as a dreamer. There has not been so much a revolution as a gigantic evolution, which can only be appreciated by comparing matters as they are in 1918 with what they were nearly four years ago.

One of the most remarkable changes brought about by the war was in regard to British politics. Not only was a truce proclaimed between the great contending parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives, but it is acknowledged history that the Government of the day, in the war measures it was taking, received stronger support from its erstwhile opponents than from its regular supporters.

When the great machine of war organization was set moving, and there were breakdowns and obstructions and mishaps, whatever criticism there was came from the regular supporters of the Liberal Government, and not from its antagonists.

The war machine became clogged; there was maladministration, with lamentable breakdowns. There were shortages in munitions, and disgraceful negligence in equipment. These things, unknown to the outside public, (though sometimes suspected,) were common information to what in Britain is called the official Opposition. Had Bonar Law, the leader of the Opposition, and his friends liked, they could, so free is the constitutional Government of Great Britain, have swept the Asquith administration from office and power in a night. Not a word was said. Nay, when the cry went up, "Come over and help us," the Conservative (or Unionist) Party consented to the creation of a Coalition Government. They knew that by such a proceeding they were throwing away any political advantage they might have had over their opponents, and were accepting a share in the responsibility at the very hour when the outlook for Great Britain was the darkest.

The fact that there was a Coalition Government, the outward sign that the party truce was really effective, meant the loosening in criticism of many tongues. Mr. Asquith remained Prime Minister. Although much was being accomplished, there was a gathering feel-

ing that in the progress of the war he was not displaying sufficient of what the Americans call "punch." The result of adverse comment was his ultimate resignation. His colleague, Lloyd George, became the first Minister of King George.

Animated by fiery Celtic and characteristic enthusiasm, and realizing that, having taken the greatest position in the empire, he must make good, Lloyd George at once ruthlessly and almost brutally cut away all the deadwood in the Government, although it meant the throwing on one side of many of his old personal and political friends.

Though a politician of uncompromising character whose anathema had descended like a torrent of vitriol upon those with whom he was in antagonism, Lloyd George now cared nothing for politics and called into his Government men who had been his enemies, men like Mr. Balfour, Lord Milner of South African fame, and others. He chose well-known business men who had distinguished themselves in railway organization, in city administration, the organization of commerce, found seats for them in Parliament independent of whatever their personal politics might be, and made them members of his Government. New Ministries were created; commissions and committees were set up to consider and assist on particular details. The great chiefs of war control were Liberals, Conservatives, Labor men, and men with no politics at all. Having after three years got the war machine in full working order, he created a small War Cabinet, the special function of which was to deal with the great important issues of the war, while it was left to others to carry forward the details, gigantic though they were.

It is not to be assumed that this meant the checking of criticism. Criticism has not only grown, but has sometimes been marked by harsh invective and accompanied by threats of industrial disruption. The only point I desire to make in this connection is that, while there have been conflicts of opinion concerning the proper prosecution of the war, antagonism from great masses of the working-

class section of the community against their treatment under special war legislation, all the criticisms were independent of the old party animosities. Though there will be party divisions in the future, everybody knows that the old shibboleths will never be brought back. So far the war has done good.

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

A swift but wonderful transformation was effected by the coming of the war. Many people had noted with alarm what is described by the phrase class antagonism. In certain circles was the ostentatious display of wealth, while at the other end of the scale were people who had to struggle hard for bare subsistence. England had a considerable leisure class, perhaps more than any other country—people who had inherited sufficient means to live comfortable lives without being engaged in any professional or commercial avocation. Though called the leisure class, they were by no means lazy, as the word might be translated, for the majority gave their time and their services to useful but voluntary public work—the management of local affairs, the control of public institutions, and the supervision of all kinds of educational and charitable bodies. Still they, along with the great landowners and those who had become vulgarly rich, were looked upon askance by hundreds of thousands who were less well positioned than themselves.

At that time England had a considerable number of young fellows who were sarcastically referred to as "knuts," the sons of prosperous parents, youths who dressed extravagantly and took little interest in anything outside golf, cricket, football, and hunting. When the clarion was sounded for Britain to jump to arms, when men were wanted as soldiers and millions of money demanded to provide for the welfare of the fighting men, this despised class was the first to come forward. I should say that within three months after the declaration of war a "knot" was an individual incapable of being found in Great Britain.

Though later on there were recruiting campaigns, and Britain had ultimately to resort to conscription to secure soldiers,

nothing of this kind was necessary in the case of the sons of the aristocracy, the lads who belonged to long-established county families, or even the boys whose fathers comparatively recently had made fortunes by speculations on the Stock Exchange. Possibly public opinion had something to do with it, but I am convinced the British love of outdoor life and of adventure and of experiencing the joys of war—the young Englishman goes to war rather as a piece of fun than as a grave business for the safeguarding of democracy, about which he does not know very much—were the chief spurs which sent him to France and to Flanders. British officers have been killed and wounded out of all proportion to the general ranks. It was the recognition of their valor to death which imperceptibly but quickly softened the old class animosities and made the most radical and resentful workingman very proud of these young men. Today in England it would be difficult to find a well-to-do family that is not mourning the death of a brave young fellow.

CLASS PREJUDICE BROKEN

Another thing which broke down class prejudice was that the mothers and sisters of the young fellows threw themselves into Red Cross work, into canteen work, into work for looking after the wives and children of the soldiers hastened abroad, and of welfare work for brightening the lives of those who came to live and to work tremendous hours in improvised munition camps.

This appreciation reacted. Folk who lived in different stations of society were brought together in the work of common usefulness. Just as the workingman sitting on the same committee with the wife of an Earl learned that she was a charming and kind-hearted lady, so she in her turn discovered that the workingman was not a boor and that frequently he had a very shrewd knowledge of business. There will never be eliminated from my mind the way, during the first months of the war, social distinctions fell and all over the land, independent of the common concern for what was taking place on the other side of the English Channel, there was evi-

denced brotherhood and sisterhood. The flower of courtesy bloomed in those days, though I must admit that it has a little withered since that time. The net result, however, was mutual appreciation, a better understanding of common interests, a feeling that to be a Briton was a proud heritage not limited to any class.

THE FIRST BRITISH ARMY

Great Britain had what the Kaiser called "a contemptible little army." Within a week of the outbreak of hostilities, however, 40,000 men were shipped across the English Channel, ready to contest the advance of the boches. When the big fighting began, British troops suffered severely; the retreat from Mons was not far short of a tragedy. But the terrible ordeal which the soldiers under General French suffered, instead of damping the spirits of people at home, stirred them to war fever. In those days the name of Lord Kitchener was one to conjure with. When he appealed to the young men to volunteer, 500,000 were enrolled within a month. Two months later the number was up to a million; then three months elapsed before another half million recruits were secured. All open spaces around the towns became drill grounds.

There were scandals about ill-feeding, deficiency of clothing, bad housing, and occasionally a burst of indignation when it was revealed that certain contractors were making colossal fortunes in building army huts. All this, however, was buried beneath the general enthusiasm for the war. The bombardment of English coast towns by enemy war vessels and the visits of Zeppelins to England had a contrary effect to that which the Germans hoped. Each visit and every renewed outrage stimulated recruiting.

As it came to be understood how gigantic was the task before Britain, and how, so terrible was the wastage of war, thousands upon thousands of more men were required, a great recruiting campaign had to be started. Crowds of men responded, partly through patriotism and partly through the force of public opinion. In some industries, like that of coal mining, there was such a rush to

arms that the Government found it necessary to stop recruiting in colliery districts, because there was a possibility of a shortage of essential coal. The hoardings of the country were covered with gaudy appeals to the valor of young Englishmen. Young Englishwomen developed a practice of presenting white feathers to young men who they thought would be better engaged in shouldering a rifle than in driving a pen. The recruiting campaign did much. But, as the cry was ever for more men, it did not do enough.

CONSCRIPTION ACCEPTED

The idea of conscripted military service was wholly alien to the British temperament. Yet it had to come. In some industrial areas there was resistance, and for a time it appeared as though there would be serious domestic trouble. Necessitous circumstance triumphed. The Germans were endeavoring to force a way to Calais. There was trepidation in the British heart about the possibility of a German invasion of their island. Conscription of the young manhood of the country became operative, and the fears of the industrial classes that this might be followed by the conscription of labor were allayed. The consequence of calling men to the colors ultimately provided Great Britain with a standing army of close upon 7,000,000 men, and to this must be added about another million who came from the oversea dominions.

The withdrawal of so many men from ordinary civilian employment had a striking effect. Instead of there being unemployment with starvation stalking through the land, the demand for munitions, the building of ships, the providing of a thousand and one things necessary to accoutre and maintain an army, necessitated the reorganization of practically all the industries in Great Britain. Never had there been such a fervor of work. Unemployment fell to the vanishing point. The trade unionists, who had stood stoutly by their principle not to work alongside nonunionists, made a great concession and consented to their trades being invaded by throngs of men who had turned from nonessential indus-

tries to the manufacture of war necessities.

RALLYING OF THE WOMEN

Great Britain was faced with an acute problem. Every man who went into the army meant that not only had he to be maintained, but his vacated place had to be filled by somebody else. So the women of the land were appealed to. At first, chiefly through diffidence, there was hesitancy. A good lead, however, was given by well-to-do women, who donned the overalls of workmen and went into factories. It became popular to become a munition worker, though I daresay the excellent pay had something to do with it. Women were called upon to follow many vocations which were new to them. They went into banks, became farm laborers, acted as omnibus conductors, railway ticket collectors, were seen serving in hotels where formerly there were only men waiters, until at last it was reckoned that something like 2,500,000 women were doing work as a direct result of their country being at war.

Out of the chaos and confusion which hampered England's military operations in the first year there gradually evolved an organization which, although far from perfect, stands as a marvel of attainment. The usual workmen's holidays were abrogated; hours of employment were extended to twelve and sometimes sixteen hours a day for seven days in the week. I am writing what I know and what I have seen when I say that many men under months of strain broke down and wept hysterically. The pace was too great. It was decided that at any rate men should rest each alternate Sunday. Then as production gradually crept up to and actually passed requirement, easier hours of labor were introduced.

It would be presenting a false picture to say that all went satisfactorily. There were protests against many of the labor restrictions, particularly one which prevented a man from leaving his present employ unless he had a certificate from his employer. Employers who were in need of men were not inclined to grant these certificates; therefore there was the feeling that men were tied to particular firms and were rather in the

position of serfs. As a matter of fact, I know that this arrangement had been imposed for the purpose of preventing employers winning away men from valuable work on which they were engaged by the offer of superior pay. However, after much controversy, the objectionable leaving certificate was abolished.

Though wages increased, it cannot be said that they kept pace with the constant rise in the cost of food. While on the one hand the artisans had the idea that the great war contractors were amassing huge fortunes, they were certain that on the other hand there was profiteering in the sale of the necessities of life. In time these complaints, if not removed, were considerably modified by a special war profits tax which meant that great firms handed practically 80 per cent. of their war profits back to the State, and the profiteer had his schemes partly frustrated by the arbitrary fixing of the price of the prime articles of food.

Reviewing the whole of the industrial area, I can say the working classes of Great Britain were materially improved financially by the war. Shortage of labor and concerted action by trade unions forced up wages. A considerable amount of the extra money went into war bonds and Government loans. There was much amelioration in methods of living. It became a joke that the chief purchasers of pianos, expensive furniture, elaborate garments, furs, and jewelry were people of the working classes.

The folk whose incomes were considerably crippled, either by heavy taxation or by the increased cost of everything and no increase of income, were the middle or professional classes. Plain living was supposed to be the rule. One of the curious things was that while herrings and other common classes of fish increased in price, more expensive and luxurious food, say lobsters and oysters, considerably decreased in price. Ultimately, the country was rationed, voluntarily in regard to some articles, compulsorily in regard to others, so that at the present time the average consumption of bread is 4 pounds a week, meat 2½ pounds, and sugar 8 ounces.

ANCIENT LIBERTIES SUSPENDED

Though the general population is scarcely aware of the fact, it is nevertheless true that under the Defense of the Realm act, hurriedly passed in the early days of the war, and now generally referred to as "Dora," which is made up of the initial letters, no personal liberties are left to anybody in Great Britain. Any hotel or private dwelling house can be seized by the authorities for military purposes, and there is no redress. The freedom of the press, on which Britain formerly prided itself, has ceased. Not only is the censor strict in preventing the publication of any news which may be likely to give information to the enemy, but articles intended to bring the objects of the Allies into contempt are prohibited. Freedom of speech is no longer allowed, and meetings which are likely to have as their object the weakening of war aims are suppressed. Great Britain has passed under the strictest of military law, although it should be said in all fairness that, to the ordinary patriotic citizen who appreciates the anomalous nature of the times, this is no grievance.

The United Kingdom had not long been at war before it realized, with something like dismay, that following its easy-going money-making methods it had not only been dependent on foreign countries, chiefly Germany, for many articles, but had allowed Germany to secure a monopoly of certain key industries. There were even things necessary for war upon which England had formerly depended on Germany. I mention chemicals as the most outstanding of these. My countrymen had to adapt themselves; through the adaptation there grew up the national determination that never again would Great Britain or the empire allow itself to be at the mercy of any other country in the matter of such supplies. So, under all the warlike energy, there was a persistent movement in scientific circles, supported by the captains of industry and the Government, to make the British Empire self-contained in all essentials.

Perhaps, however, the most remarkable transformation which the war effected in Great Britain was in regard

to legislation. For years great political and economic questions had been debated in the houses of Parliament. There were acute divisions of opinion concerning the laws of trade and the relationship of capital and labor. The war compelled the country instantly to consider these matters from a new angle. Instead of free imports there was, notwithstanding some protests, the prohibition of the importation of certain articles, and heavy taxation was imposed in regard to others. In former times the two branches of industry, capital and labor, had fought out their disputes by the crude and cruel agency of lockouts and strikes. Some people believe there have been too many concessions to the demands of labor during the last three years; but while there has been a truce between the big political parties, British labor, though patriotic on the principles of the war, never relaxed its efforts to improve its power in the land.

The result of all this is that the representatives of labor are not only given a voice at the board set up to deal with disagreements, but by its very position and power in the electoral constituencies the Labor Party has a controlling voice. There is no general resentment at this; because the public at large know and admit that the chief work in the war has been done by the industrial classes—in the factories, the munition sheds, the shipyards, and on the field of battle.

Appreciating its power, the Labor Party proposes to put several hundred candidates of its own into the constituencies, and there is an anticipation that when Great Britain has a general election—though owing to the elastic British Constitution it is hoped to delay this till after the war—the Labor Party will have control of the political machine. It is to be borne in mind that in 1917 the House of Commons gave over six million women the Parliamentary franchise, and there is an assumption that the majority of these new voters, more interested in social problems, housing, health, the care of children, wages, the drink traffic, than in general problems, will give their support to the Labor Party.

MANY PERMANENT CHANGES

Change has followed upon the heel of change with a rapidity which would be startling were it not that the thoughts of men are engrossed with immediate problems; they scarcely have the time to turn round and survey how far they have traveled. Yet, if we do look over the ground and compare conditions today with those which existed in Great Britain in the earlier months of 1914, we find alterations in national life which could not otherwise have been effected in less than half a century. There will be great disputes in the future; but if we eliminate the sporadic and temporary disturbances which are always with us, and in times of war are sharp and dramatic because they swiftly rise and have to be as swiftly arranged, we see there has been an improvement in social conditions; that the control of public affairs has passed completely into the hands of the producing classes, leaving the old governing class with little power; that fresh vision has been brought to bear upon the solution of industrial problems; that women, though coming by the million into the work of munitions for a temporary purpose, are certain to remain in the labor market and by their newly acquired political power exert influence upon future legislation, the curve of which is now in the direction of national socialism.

Today the railways of Great Britain are under Government control; thousands of great works are directly administered by the Government; it is accepted that, in some measure, this control will be retained after the war. The distribution of food, the curbing of the profiteer, the check in the exploitation of the necessities of life are all things which none of us expects will cease when the power of Prussianism has been broken and Great Britain returns to the path of peace. They are never going back to the old state of affairs. Workmen have declared they will never permit their wages to be reduced to the old standard by the harsh arbitrament of competition. A new England is in the making.

Military Review of 1917 on All Fronts

By General de Lacroix

French Military Expert

This rapid summary of the chief military events of 1917, written for the *Paris Temps* and translated for *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, is especially convenient for reference purposes as regards dates and the correlation of events on all the fronts.

DURING the course of the year 1917 the military operations in Flanders, in Artois, to the north of the Aisne, in Champagne, at Verdun, in Alsace, in Macedonia, in Palestine, and in Mesopotamia were favorable to the Entente Allies. In Italy the situation, compromised for a moment, was promptly re-established. Hostilities on the Russian fronts were halted and negotiations for a separate peace were begun. It is interesting to recall the chronological succession of events and to notice, if not the unity, at least the synchronism of the military actions of the Allies.

The suspension of the Duma at Petrograd on March 11 marked the coming of an internal revolution, which was to lead to the fall of the Czar and the establishment of a Provisional Government. On the same day the British entered Bagdad. In France the strategic withdrawal of the Germans, which had begun in the last days of February, was accentuated. On March 17 the British troops were at Bapaume and the French troops at Roye, Lassigny, and Noyon. Such was the situation in the Spring of 1917. From that time the attacks followed each other at intervals of a few days in all the theatres of operation.

BEGINNING OF SPRING ACTIVITIES

On March 21 the Franco-British armies for the first time met serious resistance between Arras and Nurlu and in the region south of St. Quentin. From the 19th to the 22d, inclusive, the Army of the East [in the Balkans] in four days of violent battle captured the heights to the north and west of Monastir. In the last days of March the British were victorious on the banks of the Wady Gaza, in Palestine, and at Sharaban, in Mesopotamia.

The Germans on April 3, profiting by

the disorganization into which the revolution had thrown the Russian troops, carried by surprise the great bridgehead of Toboly, on the Stokhod. On the 6th the United States declared war on Germany, bringing to the support of the Allies an increase of strength which was to compensate in a measure for the weakening of the resistance on the Russian fronts. Between the 9th and 13th the British troops carried Vimy Ridge along a wide front, which brought them finally to the line Monchy-le-Preux-Bailleul-Sire-Berthout-Angres. By the 15th the attempts at fraternization between the Russian and German troops had become frequent. On the 16th the French troops attacked with success between Soissons and Rheims, and the next day between Rheims and St. Souplet. Between the 18th and the 30th the British took Villers-Guislain, Gonnelieu, and Arleux-en-Gohelle; in Mesopotamia they defeated the Turks at Istabulat and at Bar-di-Adhim.

The British again attacked in force on May 3 from Bullecourt to Fresnoy and from La Sensée to the Vimy road. At the same moment the Rumanians took the offensive in the region of Voloscani and Caliman, in the upper valley of the Susita; the Army of the East did likewise on the English, Franco-Greek, Serbian, Italian, and Russian fronts from Doiran to Monastir. On May 11 and 12 the English in Artois penetrated into Liévin, completing the capture of Roeulx, and on the 17th took Bullecourt after an uninterrupted fight of fifteen days. On May 21 the French troops in their turn began a general offensive on the plateau of Laffaux, the Chemin des Dames, and the heights south of Moronvillers.

A few days earlier the Italian armies had crossed the Isonzo north of Plava,

and the action had extended rapidly along their whole front, to the north and south of Gorizia. They had brilliantly carried Monte Cucco and the Vodice, and had within their grasp certain important points between Castagnievizza and the sea. The situation had become so dangerous for the Austrians that an Austro-German war council met at Leybach on May 25.

BATTLE OF MESSINES

At the beginning of June the Italians were following up their attack along the Carso front, the Rumanian armies were advancing between the Susita and the Putna, the British troops in Artois, and the French troops on the plateaus of Vauclerc, the Casemates, and Californie. On June 7 and 8 the British carried the Messines salient by main force, and on the 14th took the slopes of Infantry Hill, east of Monchy-le-Preux. In Russia on the 16th, under the impulsion of the Provisional Government, active fighting was suddenly renewed on the Volhynian and Galician fronts. On June 23, 24, and 25, the French took the offensive on the plateau of Laffaux and north of Heurtebise, where they stormed the Dragon's Cave, while the British captured the outskirts of Lens.

General Brusiloff's offensive north of the Dniester began on June 29. On July 4 the Germans replied with vigorous counterattacks, but on the 8th Korniloff's army burst through to the south of the Dniester, took Halicz, pushed on to the Lomnitza, and captured Kalucz. On the 14th the enemy replied with a counter-offensive on the whole Russian front. In France we were holding the German forces by attacking them on the left bank of the Meuse, in Champagne, and to the north of the Aisne; our allies were approaching them from Havrincourt Wood to Monchy-le-Preux and along both banks of the Souchez.

Prince Leopold of Bavaria made a heavy attack on the Russians on July 21, and penetrated to the immediate environs of Tarnopol; a great part of the Russian forces retired in disorder, compelling the retreat of the armies in Galicia and Bukowina. The next day, however, the Russians counterattacked to the north

and south of the Pripet. At the same time the Rumanians began so vigorous an attack between the Trotus and the Putna that the weakened right wing of Archduke Joseph's army was obliged to retire upon the southern slopes of the Berecz Mountains, while Mackensen's left wing counterattacked without success on the northern slopes of Mount Obodesci, northwest of Foksani. On July 28 the Austro-German troops reached the Zbrucz on the Galician frontier and the region of Czernowitz in Bukowina. On the 31st the British troops, supported on the left by a French army, assaulted the German front in Flanders from Bixschoote, on the Yser, to the outskirts of Warneton, on the Lys.

In August the fighting was general. Archduke Joseph entered Czernowitz. His centre and right advanced upon the Trotus, while Mackensen attacked in the directions of Panciu and Marasciesi, in the angle of the Trotus and Sereth. The Rumanians, though threatened on both flanks, put up a heroic resistance in the valleys of the Slanic and Oituzu, on Mount Clija, on Mount Casinul, and in the upper valley of the Susita. On Aug. 15 there was a new British offensive in Flanders and in Artois, where the Canadians brilliantly carried the defenses of Hill 70, in front of Loos. At Verdun on the 20th began a new battle which gave the French possession of the advanced lines extending from Avocourt Wood to Bezonvaux. On the same dates the Italians were fighting from Tolmino to the Gulf of Trieste. They took Monte Santo on Aug. 24, and attacked San Gabriele, where they met a desperate resistance. On the 31st the Austrians checked the progress of their adversaries with a powerful counterattack on the Bainsizza Plateau.

GERMANS' CAPTURE OF RIGA

With the beginning of September came a new turn of events. The Germans crossed the Dvina near Uxkull and took Riga, which the Russians abandoned without defending it. The struggle, however, continued with unabated energy in Rumania, where the Rumanians vigorously counterattacked Mackensen's left flank between Panciu and Warnitza; in

Macedonia, where the left wing of the Army of the East took the offensive in the lake region; on the Isonzo, where the Italians strengthened their position on the Sella di Dol and captured the heights between Madoni and Podlesce, on the edge of the Bainsizza Plateau.

The first half of September was marked by special activity on the British and French fronts. The British established themselves firmly from Broodseinde to Poelcappelle, and on the edges of the Houthulst Forest. General Maistre's army on Sept. 23 captured the plateau of Malmaison. On the same day the 14th German Army penetrated the Italian lines in the valley of the Upper Isonzo, and its action, ably planned and vigorously led, supported as it was by the Austro-Hungarian armies on the right and left, forced the Italian armies to withdraw from the Isonzo, from the Carnic Alps, and from Tyrol. On Nov. 8 the Italian retreat stopped on the Piave; the next day the Austro-Hungarian forces from the Trentino broke through the Italian lines between Asiago and the Piave, where they found a stiff resistance, reinforced by the arrival of English and French reserves that had been hastily dispatched into Italy.

PROGRESS IN THE LEVANT

Meanwhile the successes of the Entente Allies became more marked in Asia and on the western front. In Palestine the cities of Beersheba, Gaza, and Jerusalem fell before the British expeditionary corps, to which Italian and French contingents had been added. In Mesopotamia, after overcoming separately the 18th and 13th Turkish Corps, the British pushed a salient as far as Tekrit, north of Samarra, and established themselves solidly between Delatana and Deli-Abbas. On Nov. 20 the British Army under General Byng pierced the German lines south of Cambrai. On the 24th it was violently counterattacked in Bourlon Wood. On the 30th it was assailed from Moeuvres to Bourlon, from Fontaine-Notre Dame to Masnières, and from Crevecoeur to Vend-

huile. After fighting bravely for six days against superior forces Byng's army concentrated on a narrower front between Prouville, Flesquières, Couillet Wood, La Vacquerie, and Gonnelleu, in advance of the position where it had begun the attack.

EFFECTS OF THE ARMISTICE

Upon the Russian front the Germans had easily occupied the islands in the Gulf of Riga and the line of the Dvina River below Josephstadt. Pursuing their policy of disorganization, they succeeded in producing complete anarchy in the Russian armies and communities. On Dec. 15 an armistice was signed for the Russian and Rumanian fronts. This armistice, valid to Jan. 14, could be extended. It was to apply also to the Turko-Russian front in Asia, and was completed by this additional clause: "The Russian and Turkish High Commands are disposed to withdraw their troops from Persia. They will come to an agreement immediately with the Persian Government for the settlement of details."

As the Persian frontier extends from Mount Ararat to the mouth of the Chatt-el-Arab, on the Persian Gulf, the enemy hoped by this means to uncover the right flank and menace the communications of the British army in Mesopotamia, to create disorder in Persia, and to oblige the British, abandoned on that side by the Russians, to change their plans in order to parry the danger.

The armistice, as was to be expected, was arranged wholly in favor of the Central Powers. Germany seemed to believe that Russia, being disarmed, was at her mercy; but later many of the Russian provinces refused to accept Lenine's action. The peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk took place under singular conditions. Trotzky and Lenine, the Bolshevik rulers, could no longer claim the right to speak in the name of all the Russias. On the other hand, the ambitions of Germany came clearly to light, becoming for her a source of new complications, which seemed likely to have some influence on the course of military operations.

General Haig's 1917 Report

Full Text of Official Narrative of the Battles Around Arras, Messines, Lens, and Ypres

Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British armies in France, sent to the British Secretary of War (Lord Derby) at the close of 1917 a memorable report of the operations of his forces from the opening of the British offensive at Arras in April to the conclusion of the Flanders offensive in November. The dispatch was published in the official London Gazette on Jan. 8, 1918, from which it is here reproduced in full. It covers the great engagements around Arras, Messines, Lens, and Ypres. The armies taking part in major operations were the First, under General Sir H. S. Horne; the Second, under General Sir Herbert Plumer; the Third, under General Sir E. H. H. Allenby; the Fourth, under General Sir Henry Rawlinson, and the Fifth, under General Sir H. Gough. In these operations 131 German divisions were engaged and defeated by less than half that number of British divisions. General Haig here tells in detail the story of some of the greatest fighting in the world's history, and tells it with a graphic vividness seldom found in official reports.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
BRITISH ARMIES IN THE FIELD,
DEC. 25, 1917.

MY LORD: I have the honor to submit the following report on the operations of the forces under my command from the opening of the British offensive on April 9, 1917, to the conclusion of the Flanders offensive in November. The subsequent events of this year will form the subject of a separate dispatch, to be rendered a little later.

THE GENERAL ALLIED PLAN

(1) The general plan of campaign to be pursued by the allied armies during 1917 was unanimously agreed on by a conference of military representatives of all the allied powers held at French General Headquarters in November, 1916.

This plan comprised a series of offensives on all fronts, so timed as to assist each other by depriving the enemy of the power of weakening any one of his fronts in order to reinforce another.

A general understanding had also been arrived at between the then French Commander in Chief and myself as to the rôles of our respective armies in this general plan, and with the approval of his Majesty's Government preparations based upon these arrangements had at once been taken in hand.

(2) Briefly stated, my plan of action for the armies under my command in the proposed general offensive was as follows:

In the Spring, as soon as all the allied armies were ready to commence operations, my first efforts were to be directed against the enemy's troops occupying the salient between the Scarpe and the Ancre, into which they had been pressed as a result of the Somme battle.

It was my intention to attack both shoulders of this salient simultaneously, the 5th Army operating in the Ancre front, while the 3d Army attacked from the northwest about Arras. These converging attacks, if successful, would pinch off the whole salient, and would be likely to make the withdrawal of the enemy's troops from it a very costly manoeuvre for him if it were not commenced in good time.

The front of attack on the Arras side was to include the Vimy Ridge, possession of which I considered necessary to secure the left flank of the operations on the south bank of the Scarpe. The capture of this ridge, which was to be carried out by the 1st Army, also offered other important advantages. It would deprive the enemy of valuable observation and give us a wide view over the plains stretching from the eastern foot of the

ridge to Douai and beyond. Moreover, although it was evident that the enemy might, by a timely withdrawal, avoid a battle in the awkward salient still held by him between the Scarpe and the Ancre, no such withdrawal from his important Vimy Ridge positions was likely. He would be almost certain to fight for



FIELD MARSHAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG

this ridge, and, as my object was to deal him a blow which would force him to use up reserves, it was important that he should not evade my attack.

(3) With the forces at my disposal, even combined with what the French proposed to undertake in co-operation, I did not consider that any great strategical results were likely to be gained by following up a success on the front about Arras and to the south of it, beyond the capture of the objectives aimed at as described above. It was therefore my intention to transfer my main offensive to another part of my front after these objectives had been secured.

The front selected for these further operations was in Flanders. They were to be commenced as soon as possible after the Arras offensive, and continued throughout the Summer, so far as the forces at my disposal would permit.

(4) The positions held by us in the Ypres salient since May, 1915, were far from satisfactory. They were completely overlooked by the enemy. Their defense involved a considerable strain on the

troops occupying them, and they were certain to be costly to maintain against a serious attack, in which the enemy would enjoy all the advantages in observation and in the placing of his artillery. Our positions would be much improved by the capture of the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge and of the high ground which extends thence northeastward for some seven miles and then trends north through Broodseinde and Passchendaele.

The operation in its first stages was a very difficult one, and in 1916 I had judged that the general situation was not yet ripe to attempt it. In the Summer of 1917, however, as larger forces would be at my disposal, and as, in the Somme battle, our new armies had proved their ability to overcome the enemy's strongest defenses, and had lowered his power of resistance, I considered myself justified in undertaking it. Various preliminary steps had already been taken, including the necessary development of railways in the area, which had been proceeding quietly from early in 1916. I therefore hoped, after completing my Spring offensive further south, to be able to develop this Flanders attack without great delay, and to strike hard in the north before the enemy realized that the attack in the south would not be pressed further.

(5) Subsequently, unexpected developments in the early weeks of the year necessitated certain modifications in my plans above described.

New proposals for action were made by our French allies which entailed a considerable extension of my defensive front, a modification of the rôle previously allotted to the British armies, and an acceleration of the date of my opening attack.

As a result of these proposals, I received instructions from his Majesty's Government to readjust my previous plans to meet the wishes of our allies. Accordingly, it was arranged that I should commence the offensive early in April on as great a scale as the extension of my front would permit, with due regard to defensive requirements on the rest of my line. The British attack, under the revised scheme, was, in the first instance, to be preparatory to a

more decisive operation to be undertaken a little later by the French armies, in the subsequent stages of which the British forces were to co-operate to the fullest extent possible.

It was further agreed that if this combined offensive did not produce the full results hoped for within a reasonable time, the main efforts of the British armies should then be transferred to Flanders, as I had originally intended. In this case our allies were to assist me by taking over as much as possible of the front held by my troops, and by carrying out, in combination with my Flanders attacks, such offensives on the French front as they might be able to undertake.

(6) My original plan for the preliminary operations on the Arras front fortunately fitted in well with what was required of me under the revised scheme, and the necessary preparations were already in progress. In order to give full effect, however, to the new rôle allotted to me in this revised scheme, preparations for the attack in Flanders had to be restricted for the time being to what could be done by such troops and other labor as could not in any case be made available on the Arras front. Moreover, the carrying out of any offensive this year on the Flanders front became contingent on the degree of success attained by the new plan.

(7) The chief events to note during the period of preparations for the Spring offensive were the retirement of the enemy on the Arras-Soissons front and the revolution in Russia.

As regards the former, the redistribution of my forces necessitated by the enemy's withdrawal was easily made. The front decided on for my main attack on the Arras front lay almost altogether outside the area from which the enemy had retired, and my plans and preparations on that side were not deranged thereby. His retirement, however, did enable the enemy to avoid the danger of some of his troops being cut off by the converging attacks arranged for, and to that extent reduced the results which might have been attained by my operation as originally planned. The rôle of the 5th Army, too, had to be modified. Instead

of attacking from the line of the Ancre simultaneously with the advance of the 3d Army from the northwest, it had now to follow up the retiring enemy and establish itself afresh in front of the Hindenburg line to which the enemy withdrew. This line had been very strongly fortified and sited with great care and skill to deny all advantages of position to any force attempting to attack it.

The adjustments necessary, however, to enable me to carry out the more subsidiary rôle which had been allotted to my armies since the formation of my original plans, were comparatively simple, and caused no delay in my preparation for the Spring offensive.

My task was, in the first instance, to attract as large hostile forces as possible to my front before the French offensive was launched, and my forces were still well placed for this purpose. The capture of such important tactical features as the Vimy Ridge and Monchy-le-Preux by the 1st and 3d Armies, combined with pressure by the 5th Army from the south against the front of the Hindenburg line, could be relied on to use up many of the enemy's divisions and to compel him to reinforce largely on the threatened front.

The Russian revolution was of far more consequence in the approaching struggle. Even though the Russian armies might still prove capable of co-operating in the later phases of the 1917 campaign, the revolution at once destroyed any prospect that may previously have existed of these armies being able to combine with the Spring offensive in the west by the earlier date which had been fixed for it in the new plans made since the conference of November, 1916. Moreover, as the Italian offensive also could not be ready until some time after the date fixed by the new arrangement with the French for our combined operation, the situation became very different from that contemplated at the conference.

It was decided, however, to proceed with the Spring offensive in the west, notwithstanding these serious drawbacks. Even though the prospects of any far-reaching success were reduced, it would at least tend to relieve Russia of pres-

sure on her front while she was trying to reorganize her Government; and if she should fail to reorganize it, the Allies in the west had little, if anything, to gain

by delaying their blow. Preparations were pushed on accordingly, the most urgent initial step being the development of adequate transport facilities.

Spring Campaign—Preparations for Arras Offensive

(8) When transport requirements on the front in question were first brought under consideration, the neighborhood was served by two single lines of railway, the combined capacity of which was less than half our estimated requirements. Considerable constructional work, therefore, both of standard and narrow gauge railway, had to be undertaken to meet our program. Roads also had to be improved and adapted to the circumstances for which they were required, and preparations made to carry them forward rapidly as our troops advanced.

For this latter purpose considerable use was made both in this and in the later offensives of plank roads. These were built chiefly of heavy beech slabs laid side by side, and were found of great utility, being capable of rapid construction over almost any nature of ground.

By these means the accumulation of the vast stocks of munitions and stores of all kinds required for our offensive, and their distribution to the troops, were made possible. The numberless other preparatory measures taken for the Somme offensive were again repeated, with such improvements and additions as previous experience dictated. Hutting and other accommodation for the troops concentrated in the area had to be provided in great quantity. An adequate water supply had to be guaranteed, necessitating the erection of numerous pumping installations, the laying of many miles of pipe lines, and the construction of reservoirs.

Very extensive mining and tunneling operations were carried out. In particular, advantage was taken of the existence of a large system of underground quarries and cellars in Arras and its suburbs to provide safe quarters for a great number of troops. Electric light was installed in these caves and cellars, which were linked together by tunnels, and the whole connected by long subways with our trench system east of the town.

A problem peculiar to the launching of a great offensive from a town arose from the difficulty of insuring the punctual debouching of troops and the avoidance of confusion and congestion in the streets both before the assault and during the progress of the battle. This problem was met by the most careful and complete organization of routes, reflect-

ing the highest credit on the staffs concerned.

The Enemy's Defenses

9. Prior to our offensive, the new German lines of defense on the British front ran in a general northwesterly direction from St. Quentin to the village of Tilloy-lez-Moflaines, immediately southeast of Arras. Thence the German original trench systems continued northward across the valley of the Scarpe River to the dominating Vimy Ridge, which, rising to a height of some 475 feet, commands a wide view to the south-east, east, and north. Thereafter the opposing lines left the high ground, and, skirting the western suburbs of Lens, stretched northward to the Channel across a flat country of rivers, dikes, and canals, the dead level of which is broken by the line of hills stretching from Wyttschaete northeastward to Passchendaele and Staden.

The front attacked by the 3d and 1st Armies on the morning of April 9 extended from just north of the village of Croisilles, southeast of Arras, to just south of Givenchy-en-Gohelle at the northern foot of Vimy Ridge, a distance of nearly fifteen miles. It included between four and five miles of the northern end of the Hindenburg line, which had been built to meet the experience of the Somme battle.

Further north, the original German defenses in this sector were arranged on the same principle as those which we had already captured further south. They comprised three separate trench systems, connected by a powerful switch line running from the Scarpe at Fampoux to Lievin, and formed a highly organized defensive belt some two to five miles in depth.

In addition, from three to six miles further east a new line of resistance was just approaching completion. This system, known as the Droocourt-Qucant line, formed a northern extension of the Hindenburg line, with which it is linked up at Qucant.

Fight for Aerial Supremacy

(10) The great strength of these defenses demanded very thorough artillery preparation, and this in turn could only be carried out effectively with the aid of our air service.

Our activity in the air, therefore, increased with the growing severity of our bombardment. A period of very heavy air fighting ensued, culminating in the days immediately preceding the attack in a struggle of the utmost intensity for local supremacy in the

air. Losses on both sides were severe, but the offensive tactics most gallantly persisted in by our fighting airplanes secured our artillery machines from serious interference and enabled our guns to carry out their work effectively. At the same time bombing machines caused great damage and loss to the enemy by a constant succession of successful raids directed against his dumps, railways, airdromes, and bullets.

The Bombardment

(11) Three weeks prior to the attack the systematic cutting of the enemy's wire was commenced, while our heavy artillery searched the enemy's back areas and communications. Night firing, wire cutting, and bombardment of hostile trenches, strong points, and billets continued steadily and with increasing intensity on the whole battle front, till the days immediately preceding the attack, when the general bombardment was opened.

During the latter period extensive gas discharges were carried out, and many successful raids were undertaken by day and night along the whole front to be attacked.

Organized bombardments took place also on other parts of our front, particularly in the Ypres sector.

The Troops Employed

(12) The main attack was intrusted to the 3d and 1st Armies under the command of General Sir E. H. Allenby, G. C. M. G., K. C. B., and General Sir H. S. Horne, K. C. B., respectively.

Four army corps were placed at the disposal of General Allenby, with an additional Army Corps Headquarters to be used as occasion might demand. Cavalry also was brought up into the 3d Army area, in case the development of the battle should give rise to an opportunity for the employment of mounted troops on a considerable scale.

The attack of the 1st Army on the Vimy Ridge was carried out by the Canadian corps. It was further arranged that, as soon as the Vimy Ridge had been secured, the troops in line on the front of the Canadian corps should extend the area of attack northward as far as the left bank of the Souchez River. An additional army corps was also at the disposal of the 1st Army in reserve.

The greater part of the divisions employed in the attack were composed of troops drawn from the English counties. These, with Scottish, Canadian, and South African troops, accomplished a most striking success.

My plans provided for the co-operation of the 4th and 5th Armies under the command respectively of General Sir Henry S. Rawlinson, Bart., G. C. V. O., K. C. B., and General Sir H. de la P. Gough, K. C. B., K. C. V. O., as soon as the development of my main assault should permit of their effective action.

The Method of Attack

(13) The attack on the front of the 3d and 1st Armies was planned to be carried out by a succession of comparatively short advances, the separate stages of which were arranged to correspond approximately with the enemy's successive systems of defense. As each stage was reached a short pause was to take place, to enable the troops detailed for the attack on the next objective to form up for the assault.

Tanks, which on many occasions since their first use in September of last year had done excellent service, were attached to each corps for the assault and again did admirable work in co-operation with our infantry. Their assistance was particularly valuable in the capture of hostile strong points, such as Telegraph Hill and the Harp, two powerful redoubts situated to the south of Tilloy-lez-Mofflaines and Railway Triangle, a stronghold formed by the junction of the Lens and Douai lines, east of Arras.

The Arras Battle

(14) The general attack on April 9 was launched at 5:30 A. M. under cover of a most effective artillery barrage. Closely following the tornado of our shell fire our gallant infantry poured like a flood across the German lines, overwhelming the enemy's garrisons.

Within forty minutes of the opening of the battle practically the whole of the German front-line system on the front attacked had been stormed and taken. Only on the extreme left fierce fighting was still taking place for the possession of the enemy's trenches on the slopes of Hill 145 at the northern end of the Vimy Ridge.

At 7:30 A. M. the advance was resumed against the second objectives. Somewhat greater opposition was now encountered, and at the hour at which these objectives were timed to have been captured strong parties of the enemy were still holding out on the high ground north of Tilloy-lez-Mofflaines, known as Observation Ridge, and in Railway Triangle.

North of the Scarpe, north country and Scottish territorial troops, attacking east of Roelincourt, were met by heavy machine-gun fire. Their advance was delayed, but not checked. On the left the Canadians rapidly overran the German positions, and by 9:30 A. M., in spite of difficult going over wet and sticky ground, had carried the village of Les Tilleuls and La Folie Farm.

By 12 noon men from the eastern counties of England had captured Observation Ridge and, with the exception of Railway Triangle, the whole of our second objectives were in our possession, from south of Neuville Vitasse, stormed by London territorials, to north of La Folie Farm. A large number of prisoners had already been taken, including practically a whole battalion of the 162d German Regiment at the Harp.

Meanwhile our artillery had begun to move

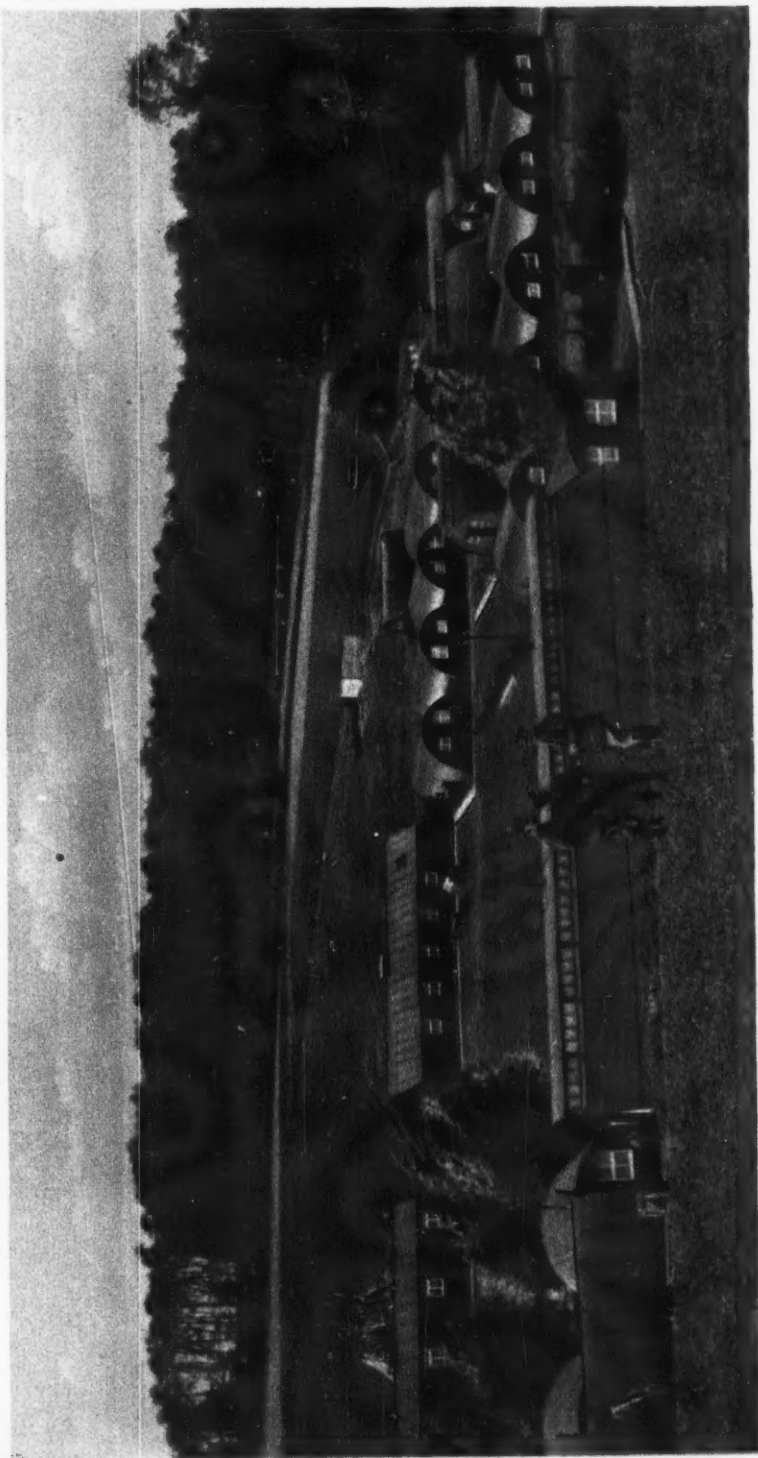
RIFLE PRACTICE AT AN AMERICAN TRAINING CAMP



Field works at Camp Meade, Maryland, especially constructed for instruction in rifle shooting. These men are non-commissioned officers training under the supervision of a British army officer.

(© International Film Service.)

WHERE AMERICAN OFFICERS ARE TRAINED IN FRANCE



General view of a British Corps School in France, one of the institutions at which American officers are receiving instruction.

(British Official Photograph from Underwood and Underwood)

forward to positions from which they could support our attack upon our third objectives. The enemy's determined resistance at Observation Ridge, however, had delayed the advance of our batteries in this area. The bombardment of the German third line on this front had consequently to be carried out at long range, with the result that the enemy's wire was not well cut.

None the less, when the advance was resumed shortly after midday, great progress was made all along the line. In the course of this attack many of the enemy's battery positions were captured, together with a large number of guns.

German Third-Line Breaches

South of the Scarpe, Manchester and Liverpool troops took St. Martin-sur-Cojeul, and our line was carried forward between that point and Feuchy-Chapel on the Arras-Cambrai road. Here a counterattack was repulsed at 2 P. M., and at about the same hour Scottish troops carried Railway Triangle, after a long struggle. Thereafter this division continued its advance rapidly and stormed Feuchy village, making a breach in the German third line. An attempt to widen this breach, and to advance beyond it in the direction of Monchy-le-Preux, was held up for the time by the condition of the enemy's wire.

North of the Scarpe our success was even more complete. Troops from Scotland and South Africa, who had already stormed St. Laurent Blagny, captured Athies. They then gave place, in accordance with program, to an English division, who completed their task by the capture of Fampoux village and Hyderabad Redoubt, breaking another wide gap in the German third-line system. The north country troops on their left seized the strong work known as the Point du Jour, in the face of strong hostile resistance from the German switch line to the north.

Further north, the Canadian division, with an English brigade in the centre of its attack, completed the capture of the Vimy Ridge from Commandant's House to Hill 145, in spite of considerable opposition, especially in the neighborhood of Thelus and the high ground north of this village. These positions were taken by 1 P. M., and early in the afternoon our final objectives in this area had been gained. Our troops then dug themselves in on the eastern side of Farbus Wood and along the steep eastern slopes to the ridge west and northwest of Farbus, sending out cavalry and infantry patrols in the direction of Willerval and along the front of their position.

Desperate Fighting of Canadians

The left Canadian division, meanwhile, had gradually fought its way forward on Hill 145, in the face of a very desperate resistance. The enemy defended this dominating position with great obstinacy, and his garrison, reinforced from dugouts and un-

derground tunnels, launched frequent counterattacks. In view of the severity of the fighting, it was decided to postpone the attack upon the crest line until the following day.

At the end of the day, therefore, our troops were established deeply in the enemy's positions on the whole front of attack. We had gained a firm footing in the enemy's third line on both banks of the Scarpe, and had made an important breach in the enemy's last fully completed line of defense.

During the afternoon cavalry had been brought up to positions east of Arras, in readiness to be sent forward should our infantry succeed in widening this breach sufficiently for the operations of mounted troops. South of Feuchy, however, the unbroken wire of the German third line constituted a complete barrier to a cavalry attack, while the commanding positions held by the enemy on Monchy-le-Preux Hill blocked the way of advance along the Scarpe. The main body of our mounted troops was accordingly withdrawn in the evening to positions just west of the town. Smaller bodies of cavalry were employed effectively during the afternoon on the right bank of the Scarpe to maintain touch with our troops north of the river, and captured a number of prisoners and guns.

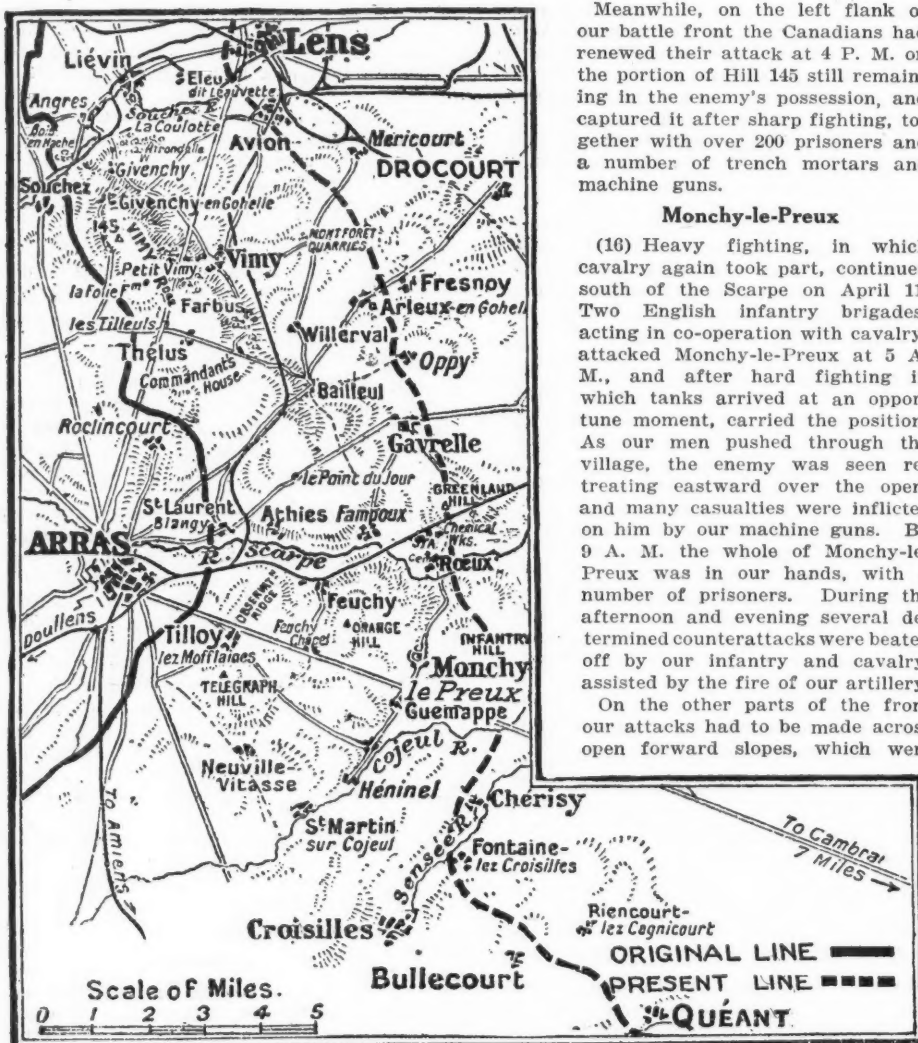
The Advance Continued

(15) For some days prior to April 9 the weather had been fine, but on the morning of that day heavy showers had fallen, and in the evening the weather definitely broke. Thereafter for many days it continued stormy, with heavy falls of snow and squalls of wind and rain. These conditions imposed great hardships on our troops and greatly hampered operations. The heavy snow, in particular, interfered with reliefs, and rendered all movements of troops and guns slow and difficult. It would be hard to overestimate the importance of the resultant delay in bringing up our guns, at a time when the enemy had not yet been able to assemble his reserves, or to calculate the influence which a further period of fine weather might have had upon the course of the battle.

North of the Scarpe little remained to be done to complete the capture of our objectives. South of the river we still required to gain the remainder of the German third line and Monchy-le-Preux. Despite the severity of the weather, our troops set themselves with the utmost gallantry to the accomplishment of these tasks.

During the night English troops made considerable progress through the gap in the German defenses east of Feuchy and occupied the northern slopes of Orange Hill, southeast of the village.

Throughout the morning of April 10 every effort was made to gain further ground through this gap, and our troops succeeded in reaching the inclosures northwest of Monchy-le-Preux.



THE BATTLEFIELD OF ARRAS

At noon the advance became general, and the capture of the whole of the enemy's third-line system south of the Scarpe was completed. The progress of our right beyond this line was checked by machine-gun fire from the villages of Heninel, Wancourt, and Guémappe, with which our artillery was unable to deal effectively. Between the Arras-Cambrai road and the Scarpe, English and Scottish troops pushed on as far as the western edge of Monchy-le-Preux. Here our advance was held up as a result of the unavoidable weakness of our artillery support, and for the same reason an attempt to pass cavalry south and north of Monchy-le-Preux and along the left bank of the Scarpe proved impossible in the face of the enemy's machine-gun fire.

Meanwhile, on the left flank of our battle front the Canadians had renewed their attack at 4 P. M. on the portion of Hill 145 still remaining in the enemy's possession, and captured it after sharp fighting, together with over 200 prisoners and a number of trench mortars and machine guns.

Monchy-le-Preux

(16) Heavy fighting, in which cavalry again took part, continued south of the Scarpe on April 11. Two English infantry brigades, acting in co-operation with cavalry, attacked Monchy-le-Preux at 5 A. M., and after hard fighting in which tanks arrived at an opportune moment, carried the position. As our men pushed through the village, the enemy was seen retreating eastward over the open, and many casualties were inflicted on him by our machine guns. By 9 A. M. the whole of Monchy-le-Preux was in our hands, with a number of prisoners. During the afternoon and evening several determined counterattacks were beaten off by our infantry and cavalry, assisted by the fire of our artillery.

On the other parts of the front our attacks had to be made across open forward slopes, which were

swept from end to end by the enemy's machine guns. The absence of adequate artillery support again made itself felt, and little ground was gained.

In combination with this attack on the 3d Army front, the 5th Army launched an attack at 4:30 A. M. on April 11 against the Hindenburg line in the neighborhood of Bullecourt. The Australian and West Riding battalions engaged showed great gallantry in executing a very difficult attack across a wide extent of open country. Considerable progress was made, and parties of Australian troops, preceded by tanks, penetrated the German positions as far as Rencourt-lez-Cagnicourt. The obstinacy of the enemy's resistance, however, in Heninel and Wancourt, which held up the advance of the

3d Army at these points, prevented the troops of the two armies from joining hands, and the attacking troops of the 5th Army were obliged to withdraw to their original line.

Heninel and the Souchez River

(17) On April 12 the relief of a number of divisions most heavily engaged was commenced, and on the same day the cavalry were withdrawn to areas west of Arras. Great efforts were made to bring forward guns, and, in spite of the difficulties presented by weather and ground, several batteries of howitzers and heavy guns reached positions in the rear of the old German third line.

On this day our attacks upon Heninel and Wancourt were renewed, and our troops succeeded in carrying both villages, as well as in completing the capture of the Hindenburg line for some 2,000 yards south of the Cojeul River. North of the Scarpe attacks were made against Roeux village and the chemical works near Roeux Station, and proved the commencement of many days of fierce and stubbornly contested fighting.

On our left flank operations of the 1st Army astride the Souchez River met with complete success. Attacks were delivered simultaneously at 5 A. M. on April 12 by English and Canadian troops against the two small hills known as the Pimple and the Boisen-Hache, situated on either side of the Souchez River. Both of these positions were captured, with a number of prisoners and machine guns. Steps were at once taken to consolidate our gains and patrols were pushed forward to maintain touch with the enemy.

Withdrawal of the Enemy

(18) The results of this last success at once declared themselves. Prior to its accomplishment there had been many signs that the enemy was preparing to make strong counterattacks from the direction of Givenchy and Hirondele Woods to recover the Vimy Ridge. The positions captured on April 12 commanded both these localities, and he was therefore compelled to abandon the undertaking. His attitude in this neighborhood forthwith ceased to be aggressive, and indications of an immediate withdrawal from the areas commanded by the Vimy Ridge multiplied rapidly.

The withdrawal commenced on the morning of the April 13. Before noon on that day Canadian patrols had succeeded in occupying the southern portion of Givenchy-en-Gohelle, had pushed through Petit Vimy, and had reached the crossroads 500 yards northeast of the village. That afternoon English patrols north of the Souchez River crossed No Man's Land and entered Angres, while Canadian troops completed the occupation of Givenchy-en-Gohelle and the German trench system east of it. Further south our troops seized Petit Vimy and Vimy, and Willerval and Bailleul were occupied in turn.

Our patrols, backed by supports, continued

to push forward on the 14th of April, keeping contact with the retreating enemy, but avoiding heavy fighting. By midday the general line of our advanced troops ran from a point about 1,000 yards east of Bailleul, through Mont Foret Quarries and the Farbus-Méricourt road, to the eastern end of Hirondele Wood. North of the river we had reached Riaumont Wood and the southern outskirts of Liévin. By the evening the whole of the town of Liévin was in our hands, and our line ran thence to our old front line north of the Double Crassier. Great quantities of ammunition of all calibres, as well as several guns and stores and materials of every kind were abandoned by the enemy in his retreat.

Meanwhile on the 13th and 14th of April fighting south of the Scarpe continued, and some progress was made in the face of strong hostile resistance. On the right of our attack our troops fought their way eastward down the Hindenburg line till they had reached a point opposite Fontaine-les-Croiselles, about seven miles southeast of Arras. In the centre a Northumberland brigade, advancing in open order, carried the high ground east of Heninel and captured Wancourt Tower. Three counterattacks against this position were successfully driven off, and further ground was gained on the ridge southeast of Heninel.

On the other parts of our line heavy counterattacks developed on the 14th of April, the most violent of which were directed against Monchy-le-Preux. The struggle for this important position was exceedingly fierce. The enemy's attacks were supported by the full weight of his available artillery, and at one time parties of his infantry reached the eastern defenses of the village. To the south and the north, however, our posts held their ground, and in the end the enemy was completely repulsed with great loss.

Results of First Attacks

(19) Our advance had now reached a point at which the difficulty of maintaining communications and of providing adequate artillery support for our infantry began seriously to limit our progress. Moreover, the enemy had had time to bring up reserves and to recover from the temporary disorganization caused by our first attacks. Both the increasing strength of his resistance and the weight and promptness of his counterattacks made it evident that, except at excessive cost, our success could not be developed further without a return to more deliberate methods.

Already a very remarkable success had been gained, whether measured by our captures in territory, prisoners, and guns, or judged by the number of German divisions attracted to the front of our attack.

At the end of six days' fighting our front had been rolled four miles further east, and all the dominating features, forming the immediate objects of my attack, which I considered it desirable to hold before transfer-

ring the bulk of my resources to the north, had passed into our possession. So far, therefore, as my own plans were concerned, it would have been possible to have stopped the Arras offensive at this point, and while maintaining a show of activity sufficient to mislead the enemy as to my intentions, to have diverted forthwith to the northern theatre of operations the troops, labor, and material required to complete my preparations there.

At this time, however, the French offensive was on the point of being launched, and it was important that the full pressure of the British offensive should be maintained in order to assist our allies and that we might be ready to seize any opportunity which might follow their success. Accordingly, active preparations were undertaken to renew my attack, but, in view both of the weather and of the strength already developed by the enemy, it was necessary to postpone operations until my communications had been re-established and my artillery dispositions completed. The following week, therefore, saw little change in our front, though the labors of our troops continued incessantly under conditions demanding the highest qualities of courage and endurance.

So far as my object was to draw the enemy's reserves from the front of the French attack, much had already been accomplished. In addition to the capture of more than 13,000 prisoners and over 200 guns, a wide gap had been driven through the German prepared defenses. The enemy had been compelled to pour in men and guns to stop this gap, while he worked feverishly to complete the Drocourt-Quéant line. Ten days after the opening of our offensive the number of German infantry engaged on the front of our attack had been nearly doubled, in spite of the casualties the enemy's troops had sustained. The massing of such large forces within the range of our guns, and the frequent and costly counterattacks rendered necessary by our successes, daily added to the enemy's losses.

Subsidiary Operations

(20) In addition to the main attack east of Arras, successful minor operations were carried out on the 9th of April by the 4th and 5th Armies, by which a number of fortified villages covering the Hindenburg line were taken, with some hundreds of prisoners, and considerable progress was made in the direction of St. Quentin and Cambrai.

Throughout the remainder of the month the two southern armies maintained constant activity. By a succession of minor enterprises our line was advanced closer and closer to the Hindenburg line, and the enemy was kept under the constant threat of more serious operations on this front.

The only offensive action taken by the enemy during this period in this area occurred on the 15th of April. At 4:30 o'clock on that morning the enemy attacked our positions from Hermies to Noreuil with consider-

able forces, estimated at not less than sixteen battalions. Heavy fighting took place, in the course of which parties of German infantry succeeded in penetrating our lines at Lagnicourt for some distance, and at one time reached our advanced battery positions. By 1 P. M., however, the whole of our original line had been re-established, and the enemy left some seventeen hundred dead on the field as well as 360 prisoners in our hands. During the attack our heavy batteries remained in action at very close range and materially assisted in the enemy's repulse.

Guemappe and Gavrelle

(21) On the 16th of April our allies launched their main offensive on the Aisne, and shortly after that date the weather on the Arras front began to improve. Our preparations made more rapid progress, and plans were made to deliver our next attack on the 21st of April. High winds and indifferent visibility persisted, however, and so interfered with the work of our artillery and airplanes that it was found necessary to postpone operations for a further two days. Meanwhile local fighting took place frequently, and our line was improved slightly at a number of points.

At 4:45 A. M. on the 23d of April British troops attacked on a front of about nine miles from Croiselles to Gavrelle. At the same hour a minor operation was undertaken by us southwest of Lens.

On the main front of attack good progress was made at first at almost all points. By 10 A. M. the remainder of the high ground west of Chérisy had been captured by the attacking English brigades, and Scottish troops had pushed through Guémappe. East of Monchy-le-Preux British battalions gained the western slopes of the rising ground known as Infantry Hill. North of the Scarpe Highland territorials were engaged in heavy fighting on the western outskirts of Roeux Wood and the chemical works. On their left English county troops had reached the buildings west of Roeux Station and gained the line of their objectives on the western slopes of Greenland Hill, north of the railway. On the left of our main attack the Royal Naval Division had made rapid progress against Gavrelle, and the whole of the village was already in its hands.

At midday and during the afternoon counterattacks in great force developed all along the line, and were repeated by the enemy with the utmost determination, regardless of the heavy losses inflicted by our fire. Many of these counterattacks were repulsed after severe fighting, but on our right our troops were ultimately compelled by weight of numbers to withdraw from the ridge west of Chérisy and from Guémappe. North of the Scarpe fierce fighting continued for the possession of Roeux, the chemical works, and the station to the north, but without producing any lasting change in the situation. Not less than five separate counterattacks were

made by the enemy on this day against Gavrelle, and on the 24th of April he thrice repeated his attempts. All these attacks were completely crushed by our artillery barrage and machine-gun fire.

As soon as it was clear that the whole of our objectives for the 23d of April had not been gained, orders were issued to renew the advance at 6 P. M. In the attack Guémappe was retaken, but further south our troops were at once met by a counterattack in force, and made no progress. Fighting of a more or less intermittent character continued in this area all night.

In the early morning of the 24th of April the enemy's resistance weakened all along the front of our attack south of the Arras-Cambrai road. Our troops reaped the reward of their persistence, and gained their objectives of the previous day without serious opposition.

After twenty-four hours of very fierce fighting, therefore, in which the severity of the enemy's casualties were in proportion to the strength and determination of his numerous counterattacks, we remained in possession of the villages of Guémappe and Gavrelle, as well as of the whole of the high ground overlooking Fontaine-lez-Croiselles and Chérisy. Very appreciable progress had also been made east of Monchy-le-Preux, on the left bank of the Scarpe, and on Greenland Hill.

In the minor operations southwest of Lens Cornish troops established themselves on the railway loop east of Cité des Petit Bois, and succeeded in maintaining their position in spite of numerous hostile counterattacks.

In the course of these operations of the 23d and 24th of April we captured a further 3,000 prisoners and a few guns. On the battlefield, which remained in our possession, great numbers of German dead testified to the costliness of the enemy's obstinate defense.

Policy of Subsequent Operations

(22) The strength of the opposition encountered in the course of this attack was in itself evidence that my offensive was fulfilling the part designed for it in the allied plans. As the result of the fighting which had already taken place twelve German divisions had been withdrawn exhausted from the battle or were in process of relief. A month after the commencement of our offensive the number of German divisions so withdrawn had increased to twenty-three. On the other hand, the strengthening of the enemy's forces opposite my front necessarily brought about for the time being the characteristics of a wearing-out battle.

On the Aisne and in Champagne, also, the French offensive had met with very obstinate resistance. It was becoming clear that many months of heavy fighting would be necessary before the enemy's troops could be reduced to a condition which would permit of a more rapid advance. None the less, very considerable results had already been achieved, and

our allies continued their efforts against the long plateau north of the Aisne traversed by the Chemin des Dames.

In order to assist our allies, I arranged that until their object had been attained I would continue my operations at Arras. The necessary readjustment of troops, guns, and material required to complete my preparations for my northern operations was accordingly postponed, and preparations were undertaken for a repetition of my attacks on the Arras front until such time as the results of the French offensive should have declared themselves.

The Final Arras Attacks

(23) The first of these attacks was delivered on the 28th of April on a front of about eight miles north of Monchy-le-Preux. With a view to economizing my troops, my objectives were shallow, and for a like reason, and also in order to give the appearance of an attack on a more imposing scale, demonstrations were continued southward of the Arras-Cambrai road and northward to the Souchez River.

The assault was launched at 4:25 A. M. by British and Canadian troops, and resulted in heavy fighting, which continued throughout the greater part of the 28th and 29th of April. The enemy delivered counterattack after counterattack with the greatest determination and most lavish expenditure of men. Our positions at Gavrelle alone were again attacked seven times with strong forces, and on each occasion the enemy was repulsed with great loss.

In spite of the enemy's desperate resistance, the village of Arleux-en-Gohelle was captured by Canadian troops, after bitter hand-to-hand fighting, and English troops made further progress in the neighborhood of Oppy, on Greenland Hill, and between Monchy-le-Preux and the Scarpe. In addition to these advances, another 1,000 German prisoners were taken by us in the course of the two days' fighting.

Fresnoy

(24) Five days later, at 3:45 A. M. on the 3d of May, another attack was undertaken by us of a similar nature to that of the 28th of April, which in the character of the subsequent fighting it closely resembled.

In view of important operations which the French were to carry out on the 5th of May, I arranged for a considerable extension of my active front. While the 3d and 1st Armies attacked from Montaine-lez-Croiselles to Fresnoy, the 5th Army launched a second attack upon the Hindenburg line in the neighborhood of Bullecourt. This gave a total front of over sixteen miles.

Along practically the whole of this front our troops broke into the enemy's positions. Australian troops carried the Hindenburg line east of Bullecourt. Eastern county battalions took Chérisy. Other English troops entered Roeux and captured the German trenches

south of Fresnoy. Canadian battalions found Fresnoy full of German troops assembled for a hostile attack which was to have been delivered at a later hour. After hard fighting, in which the enemy lost heavily, the Canadians carried the village, thereby completing an unbroken series of successes.

Later in the day, strong hostile counter-attacks once more developed, accompanied by an intense bombardment with heavy guns. Fierce fighting lasted throughout the afternoon and far into the night, and our troops were obliged to withdraw from Roeux and Chérisy. They maintained their hold, however, on Fresnoy and the Hindenburg line east of Bullecourt, as well as upon certain trench elements west of Fontaine-lez-Croiselles and south of the Scarpe.

Nine hundred and sixty-eight prisoners, including twenty-nine officers, were captured by us in these operations.

Situation Reviewed

(25) On the 5th of May the French delivered their attack against the Chemin des Dames and successfully achieved the objects they had in view. This brought to an end the first half of our general plan, and marked the close of the Spring campaign on the western front. The decisive action which it had been hoped might follow from the French offensive had not yet proved capable of realization; but the magnitude of the results actually achieved strengthened our belief in its ultimate possibility.

On the British front alone, in less than one month's fighting, we had captured over 19,500 prisoners, including over 400 officers, and had also taken 257 guns, including 98 heavy guns, with 464 machine guns, 227 trench mortars, and immense quantities of other war material. Our line had been advanced to a greatest depth exceeding five miles on a total front of over twenty miles, representing a gain of some sixty square miles of territory. A great improvement had been effected in the general situation of our troops on the front attacked, and the capture of the Vimy Ridge had removed a constant menace to the security of our line.

I was at length able to turn my full attention and to divert the bulk of my resources to the development of my northern plan of operations. Immediate instructions were given by me to General Sir Herbert Plumer, commanding the 2d Army, to be prepared to deliver an attack on the 7th of June against the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, the capture of which, owing to the observation from it over our positions further north in the Ypres salient, was an essential preliminary to the completion of the preparations for my principal offensive east and north of Ypres.

In order to assist me to concentrate troops on the new scene of operations, it was agreed that the French should take over once more a portion of the front taken over by me from

them at the commencement of the year. This relief was completed without incident on the 20th of May, the French extending their front to the Omignon River.

Arras Activity Maintained

(26) A necessary part of the preparations for the Messines attack was the maintenance of activity on the Arras front, sufficient to keep the enemy in doubt as to whether our offensive there would be proceeded with. I therefore directed the armies concerned to continue active operations with such forces as were left to them. The required effect was to be attained by a careful selection of important objectives of a limited nature, deliberate preparation of attack, concentration of artillery, and economy of infantry.

Importance was to be given to these operations by combining them with feint attacks, and by the adoption of various measures and devices to extend the apparent front of attack. These measures would seem to have had considerable success, if any weight may be attached to the enemy's reports concerning them. They involved, however, the disadvantage that I frequently found myself unable to deny German accounts of the bloody repulse of extensive British attacks which in fact never took place.

Bullecourt and Roeux

(27) To secure the footing gained by the Australians in the Hindenburg line on the 3d of May it was advisable that Bullecourt should be captured without loss of time. During the fortnight following our attack, fighting for the possession of this village went on unceasingly; while the Australian troops in the sector of the Hindenburg line to the east beat off counterattack after counterattack. The defense of this 1,000 yards of double trench line, exposed to counterattack on every side, through two weeks of almost constant fighting, deserves to be remembered as a most gallant feat of arms.

On the morning of the 7th of May, English troops gained a footing in the southeast corner of Bullecourt. Thereafter gradual progress was made, in the face of the most obstinate resistance, and on the 17th of May London and West Riding territorials completed the capture of the village.

On other parts of the Arras front also heavy fighting took place, in which we both lost and gained ground.

On the 8th of May the enemy regained Fresnoy village. Three days later London troops captured Cavalry Farm, while other English battalions carried Roeux Cemetery and the chemical works. Further ground was gained in this neighborhood on the 12th of May, and on the night of the 13th-14th our troops captured Roeux.

On the 20th of May fighting was commenced for the sector of the Hindenburg line lying between Bullecourt and our front line west of Fontaine-lez-Croiselles. Steady progress was made, until by the 16th of June touch had

been established by us between these two points. Ten days prior to this event, on the 5th and 6th of June, Scottish and north country regiments captured the German posi-

tions on the western face of Greenland Hill and beat off two counterattacks.

In these different minor operations over 1,500 prisoners were captured by us.

Summer Campaigns—Preparations for Messines Attack

(28) The preparations for the attack on the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge were necessarily as elaborate as those undertaken before either the Somme or the Arras battles, and demanded an equal amount of time, forethought, and labor. They were carried out, moreover, under circumstances of exceptional difficulty, for the enemy's positions completely overlooked our lines and much of the area behind them.

Neither labor nor material was available in sufficient quantity for the Messines offensive until the prior demands of the Arras operations had been satisfied. Nevertheless, our preparations in the northern area had been proceeded with steadily, so far as the means at our disposal would allow, ever since the formation of definite plans in the late Autumn of 1916.

A large railway program had been commenced, and as soon as it was possible to divert larger supplies northward, work was pushed on with remarkable speed. Great progress was made with road construction, and certain roads were selected for extension as soon as our objectives should be gained. Forward dumps of material were made for this purpose, and in the days following the 7th of June roads were carried forward with great rapidity to Messines, Wytschaete, and Oostaverne, across country so completely destroyed by shellfire that it was difficult to trace where the original road had run.

A special problem arose in connection with the water supply. Pipe lines were taken well forward from existing lakes, from catchpits constructed on the Kemmel Hills, and from sterilizing barges on the Lys. Provision was made for the rapid extension of these lines. By the 15th of June they had reached Messines, Wytschaete, and the Dam Strasse, and were supplying water at the rate of between 450,000 and 600,000 gallons daily.

In addition, arrangements were made for the transport of water, rations, and stores by pack animals and carrying parties. So efficiently did these arrangements work that during the attack water reached the troops within twenty to forty minutes of the taking of new positions, while in one case carrying parties arrived with packs and dumps were formed within four minutes of the capture of the objective.

Underground Warfare

(29) A special feature of the attack on the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, and one unique in warfare, was furnished by the explosion of nineteen deep mines at the moment of assault.

The inception of a deep mining offensive on

the 2d Army front dated from July, 1915; but the proposal to conduct offensive mining on a grand scale was not definitely adopted till January, 1916. From that date onward, as the necessary labor became available, deep mining for offensive purposes gradually developed, in spite of great difficulties from water-bearing strata and active countermining by the enemy.

In all, twenty-four mines were constructed, four of which were outside the front ultimately selected for our offensive, while one other was lost as the result of a mine blown by the enemy. Many of these mines had been completed for twelve months prior to our offensive, and constant and anxious work was needed to insure their safety. The enemy also had a deep mining system, and was aware of his danger.

At Hill 60 continuous underground fighting took place for over ten months prior to our attack, and only by the greatest skill, persistence, and disregard of danger on the part of our tunnelers were the two mines laid by us at this point saved from destruction. At the time of our offensive the enemy was known to be driving a gallery which ultimately would have cut into the gallery leading to the Hill 60 mines. By careful listening it was judged that if our offensive took place on the date arranged, the enemy's gallery would just fail to reach us. So he was allowed to proceed.

At the Bluff, also, underground fighting went on incessantly. Between the 16th of January, 1916, and the 7th of June, 1917, twenty-seven camouflages were blown in this locality alone, of which seventeen were blown by us and ten by the enemy. After the 1st of February, 1917, the enemy showed signs of great uneasiness, and blew several heavy mines and camouflages in the endeavor to interfere with our working. One of these blows destroyed our gallery to the Spanbroekmolen mine. For three months this mine was cut off, and was only recovered by strenuous efforts on the day preceding the Messines attack. The Spanbroekmolen mine formed the largest crater of any of those blown, the area of complete obliteration having a diameter of over 140 yards.

A total of 8,000 yards of gallery were driven in the construction of these mines, and over one million pounds of explosives were used in them. The simultaneous discharge of such an enormous aggregate of explosive is without parallel in land mining, and no actual experience existed of the effects which would be produced. In these circumstances, the

fact that no hitch of any kind occurred in the operation, and that the effects of the discharges were precisely such as had been foretold, reflects the very highest credit upon those responsible for the planning and construction of the mines.

The Messines Battle

(30) The group of hills known as the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge lies about midway between the towns of Armentières and Ypres. Situated at the eastern end of the range of abrupt, isolated hills which divides the valleys of the River Lys and the River Yser, it links up that range with the line of rising ground which from Wytschaete stretches northeastward to the Ypres-Menin road, and then northward past Passchendaele to Staden.

The village of Messines, situated on the southern spur of the ridge, commands a wide view of the valley of the Lys, and enfiladed the British lines to the south. Northwest of Messines the village of Wytschaete, situated at the point of the salient and on the highest part of the ridge, from its height of about 260 feet commands even more completely the town of Ypres and the whole of the old British positions in the Ypres salient.

The German Defenses

(31) The German front line skirted the western foot of the ridge in a deep curve from the River Lys opposite Frelinghien to a point just short of the Menin road. The line of trenches then turned northwest past Hooge and Weiltje, following the slight rise known as the Pilkem Ridge to the Yser Canal at Boesinghe. The enemy's second-line system followed the crest of the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, forming an inner curve.

In addition to these defenses of the ridge itself, two chord positions had been constructed across the base of the salient from south to north. The first lay slightly to the east of the hamlet of Oosttaverne, and was known as the Oosttaverne line. The second chord position, known as the Warneton line, crossed the Lys at Warneton, and ran roughly parallel to the Oosttaverne line a little more than a mile to the east of it.

The natural advantages of the position were exceptional, and during more than two years of occupation the enemy had devoted the greatest skill and industry to developing them to the utmost. Besides the villages of Messines and Wytschaete, which were organized as main centres of resistance, numerous woods, farms, and hamlets lent themselves to the construction of defensive points.

Captured documents and the statements of prisoners proved the importance attached by the enemy to the position. His troops in the line were told that the coming battle might well prove decisive, and that they were to resist to the last. They were assured that strong reserves were available to come to their assistance and to restore the battle

should the British attack succeed in penetrating their lines.

Preparations Completed

(32) The final preparations for the assault on the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge were completed punctually, and with a thoroughness of organization and attention to detail which is beyond praise. The excellence of the arrangements reflects the highest credit on the 2d Army commander, General Sir Herbert Plumer, and his staff, as well as on the commanders and staffs of the various formations engaged.

The actual front selected for attack extended from a point opposite St. Yves to Mount Sorrel, inclusive, a distance, following the curve of the salient, of between nine and ten miles. Our final objective was the Oosttaverne line, which lay between these two points. The greatest depth of our attack was therefore about two and a half miles.

As the date for the attack drew near, fine weather favored the work of our airmen, and artillery and wire cutting, the bombardment of the enemy's defenses and strong points, and the shelling of his communications, billets, and back areas continued steadily. Counterbattery work was undertaken with great energy and with striking success.

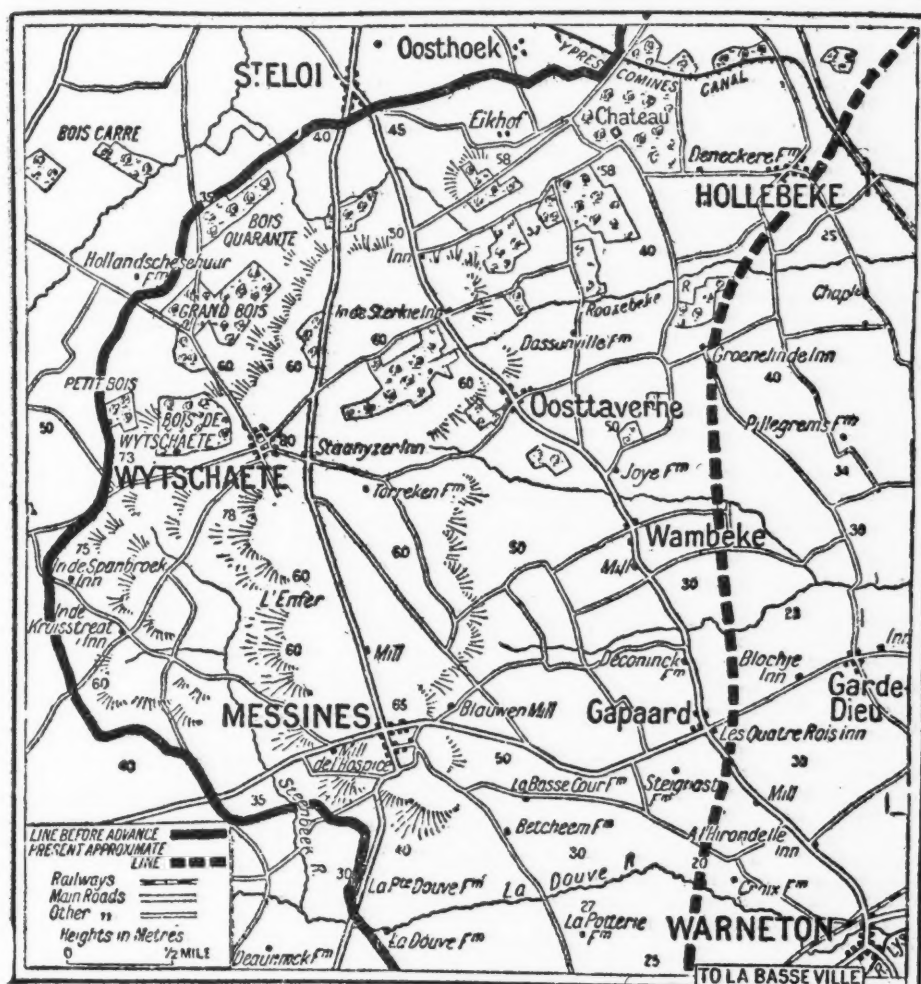
The Assault

(33) At 3:10 A. M. on the 7th of June the nineteen mines were exploded simultaneously beneath the enemy's defenses. At the same moment our guns opened and our infantry assault was launched. Covered by a concentrated bombardment, which overwhelmed the enemy's trenches and to a great extent neutralized his batteries, our troops swept over the German foremost defenses all along the line.

The attack proceeded from the commencement in almost exact accordance with the time table. The enemy's first-trench system offered little resistance to our advance, and the attacking brigades—English, Irish, Australian, and New Zealand—pressed on up the slopes of the ridge to the assault of the crest line.

At 5:30 A. M. Ulster regiments had already reached their second objectives, including l'Enfer Hill and the southern defenses of Wytschaete, while on their left a South of Ireland division fought its way through Wytschaete Wood. At 7 A. M. New Zealand troops had captured Messines. Men from the western counties of England had cleared the Grand Bois. Other English county regiments had reached the Dam Strasse, and all along the battle front our second objectives had been gained.

Only at a few isolated points did the resistance of the enemy's infantry cause any serious delay. Northeast of Messines our infantry were held up for a time by machine-gun fire from a strong point known as Fanny's Farm, but the arrival of a tank enabled our progress to be resumed. So rapid was



THE BATTLE OF MESSINES

the advance of our infantry, however, that only a few tanks could get forward in time to come into action. Heavy fighting took place in Wytschaete, and further north London troops encountered a serious obstacle in another strong point known as the White Château. This redoubt was captured while the morning was yet young, and before mid-day the two Irish divisions had fought their way side by side through the defenses of Wytschaete.

Our troops then began to move down the eastern slopes of the ridge, and the divisions in the centre of our attack, who had furthest to go, gradually drew level with those on either flank. About 2,000 prisoners had already been brought in, and Australian and English troops had reached the first of the enemy's guns. Our own guns had begun to move forward.

Further fighting took place in Ravine Wood, where English county regiments and London troops killed many Germans, and short-lived resistance was encountered at other points among the many woods and farmhouses. Bodies of the enemy continued to hold out in the eastern end of Battle Wood and in strong points constructed in the spoil banks of the Ypres-Comines Canal. Except at these points, our troops gained their final objectives on both flanks early in the afternoon. In the centre we had reached a position running approximately parallel to the Oostaverne line and from 400 to 800 yards to the west of it. The guns required for the attack upon this line had been brought forward, and the troops and tanks detailed to take part were moving up steadily. Meanwhile the bridges and roads leading out of the triangle formed by the River Lys and

the canal were kept under the fire of our artillery.

The final attack began soon afterward, and by 3:45 P. M. the village of Oosttaverne had been captured. At 4 P. M. troops from the northern and western counties of England entered the Oosttaverne line east of the village and captured two batteries of German field guns. Half an hour later other English battalions broke through the enemy's position further north. Parties of the enemy were surrendering freely, and his casualties were reported to be very heavy. By the evening the Oosttaverne line had been taken, and our objectives had been gained.

The rapidity with which the attack had been carried through, and the destruction caused by our artillery, made it impossible at first to form more than a rough estimate of our captures. When the final reckoning had been completed, it was found that they included 7,200 prisoners, 67 guns, 94 trench mortars, and 294 machine guns.

Subsequent Operations

(34) During the night our infantry consolidated the captured positions, while tanks patrolled the ground east of the Oosttaverne line, and in the early morning of June 8 assisted in the repulse of an enemy counterattack up the Wambeke Valley. At 4 A. M. on the same morning our troops captured a small portion of German trench near Septieme Barn, where the enemy had resisted our first attack. That evening, at 7 P. M., after an intense bombardment, the enemy counterattacked along practically the whole of our new line, but was repulsed at all points.

Consolidation and the establishment of advanced posts continued during the following four days, in the course of which Australian troops captured La Potterie Farm, southeast of Messines, and the hamlet of Gapaard was occupied.

Our progress on the right of the battle front made the enemy's positions between the Lys River and St. Yves very dangerous, and he now gradually began to evacuate them. Our patrols kept close touch with the enemy, and by the evening of June 14 the whole of the old German front and support lines north of Lys had passed into our possession.

That evening we again attacked south and east of Messines and on both sides of the Ypres-Comines Canal, and met with complete success. The strong points in which the enemy had held out north of the canal were captured, and our line was advanced on practically the whole front from the River Warnave to Klein Zillebeke.

By this operation the 2d Army front was pushed forward as far as was then desirable. Henceforward our efforts in this area were directed to putting the line gained in a state of defense and establishing forward posts.

(35) As soon as this preliminary operation had been successfully accomplished it be-

came possible to take in hand our final dispositions for our main offensive east and north of Ypres. Owing to the great extent of front to be dealt with, the 5th Army took over command of the front from Observatory Ridge to Boesinghe on June 10, and the whole of our available resources were directed to completing the preparations for the attack.

It had been agreed that French troops should take part in these operations, and should extend my left flank northward beyond Boesinghe. The relief by British troops of the French troops holding the coast sector from St. Georges to the sea was accordingly arranged for, and was successfully completed ten days later. In the first week of July the Belgian troops holding the front from Boesinghe to Noordschoote were relieved by the 1st French Army, under the command of General Anthoine.

The various problems inseparable from the mounting of a great offensive, the improvement and construction of roads and railways, the provision of an adequate water supply and of accommodation for troops, the formation of dumps, the digging of dugouts, subways, and trenches, and the assembling and registering of guns had all to be met and overcome in the new theatre of battle under conditions of more than ordinary disadvantage.

On no previous occasion, not excepting the attack on the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, had the whole of the ground from which we had to attack been so completely exposed to the enemy's observation. Even after the enemy had been driven from the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, he still possessed excellent direct observation over the salient from the east and southeast, as well as from the Pilkem Ridge to the north. Nothing existed at Ypres to correspond with the vast caves and cellars which proved of such value in the days prior to the Arras battle, and the provision of shelter for the troops presented a very serious problem.

The work of the tunneling companies of the Royal Engineers deserves special mention in this connection. It was carried on under great difficulties, both from the unreliable nature of the ground and also from hostile artillery, which paid particular attention to all indications of mining activity on our part.

Minor Operations Continued

(36) Meanwhile the policy of maintaining activity on other parts of my front was continued.

Further ground was gained on Greenland Hill, and on June 14 British troops captured by a surprise attack the German trench lines on the crest of Infantry Hill, east of Monchy-le-Preux, with 175 prisoners. This important position had already been the scene of a great deal of fierce fighting, and during the following six weeks was frequently counterattacked. Our advanced posts

changed hands frequently; but the principal line, giving the observation which lent importance to the position, remained consistently in our possession.

Early in May local attacks had been undertaken by Canadian troops in the neighborhood of the Souchez River, which formed the prelude to a long-sustained series of minor operations directed against the defense of Lens. Substantial progress was made in this area on June 5 and 19, and five days later North Midland troops captured an important position on the slopes of a small hill southwest of Lens, forcing the enemy to make a considerable withdrawal on both sides of the river. Canadian troops took La Coulotte on June 26, and by the morning of June 28 had reached the outskirts of Avion.

On the evening of June 28 a deliberate and carefully thought out scheme was put into operation by the 1st Army, to give the enemy the impression that he was being attacked on a twelve-mile front from Gavrelle to Hulluch.

Elaborate demonstrations were made on the whole of this front, accompanied by discharges of gas, smoke, and thermit, and a mock raid was successfully carried out southeast of Loos. At the same time real attacks were made, with complete success, by English troops on a front of 2,000 yards opposite Oppy, and by Canadian and North Midland troops on a front of two and a half miles astride the Souchez River. All our objectives were gained, including Eleu dit Leauvette and the southern half of Avion, with some 300 prisoners and a number of machine guns.

The Lombaertzyde Attack

(37) The appearance of British troops on the coast seems to have alarmed the enemy

and caused him to launch a small counter-offensive.

The positions which we had taken over from the French in this area included a narrow strip of polder and dune, some two miles in length and from 600 to 1,200 yards in depth, lying on the right bank of the canalized Yser between the Passchendaele Canal, south of Lombaertzyde, and the coast. Midway between the Passchendaele Canal and the sea these positions were divided into two parts by the dike known as the Geleide Creek, which flows into the Yser southwest of Lombaertzyde. If the enemy could succeed in driving us back across the canal and river on the whole of this front, he would render the defense of the sector much easier for him.

Early on the morning of July 10 an intense bombardment was opened against these positions. Our defenses, which consisted chiefly of breastworks built in the sand, were flattened, and all the bridges across the Yser below the Geleide Creek, as well as the bridges across the creek itself, were destroyed.

At 6:30 P. M. the enemy's infantry attacked, and the isolated garrison of our positions north of the Geleide Creek, consisting of troops from a Northamptonshire battalion and a rifle battalion, were overwhelmed after an obstinate and most gallant resistance. Of these two battalions some seventy men and four officers succeeded during the nights of the 10th-11th and 11th-12th of July in swimming across the Yser to our lines.

On the southern half of the point attacked, opposite Lombaertzyde, the enemy also broke into our lines; but here, where our positions had greater depth, and communication across the Yser was still possible, his troops were ejected by our counterattack.

The Third Battle of Ypres—Preliminary Stages

(38) By this date the preparations for the combined allied offensive were far advanced, and the initial stages of the battle had already begun.

A definite aerial offensive had been launched, and the effective work of our airmen once more enabled our batteries to carry out successfully a methodical and comprehensive artillery program.

So effective was our counterbattery work that the enemy commenced to withdraw his guns to places of greater security. On this account, and also for other reasons, the date of our attack, which had been fixed for the 25th of July, was postponed for three days. This postponement enabled a portion of our own guns to be moved further forward, and gave our airmen the opportunity to locate accurately the enemy's new battery positions. Subsequently a succession of days of bad visibility, combined with the difficulties

experienced by our allies in getting their guns into position in their new area, decided me to sanction a further postponement until the 31st of July.

In addition to our artillery bombardment, gas was used extensively during the fortnight preceding the attack, and a number of highly successful raids were carried out along the whole front north of the Lys.

The Yser Canal Crossed

(39) As the date of the attack drew near, careful watch was maintained lest the enemy should endeavor to disarrange our plans by withdrawing to one of his rear lines of defense. On the 27th of July the German forward defense system was found to be unoccupied on the northern portion of the 5th Army front. British Guards and French troops seized the opportunity to cross the Yser Canal, and established themselves firm-

ly in the enemy's first and support trenches on a front of about 3,000 yards east and north of Boesinghe. All hostile attempts to eject them failed, and during the night seventeen bridges were thrown across the canal by our troops.

This operation greatly facilitated the task of the allied troops on this part of the battle front, to whose attack the Yser Canal had previously presented a formidable obstacle. Whether the withdrawal which made it possible was due to the desire of the German infantry to escape our bombardment, or to their fear that our attack would be inaugurated by the explosion of a new series of mines is uncertain.

Plan of First Attack

(40) The front of the allied attack extended from the Lys River opposite Deulemont northward to beyond Steenstraat, a distance of over fifteen miles, but the main blow was to be delivered by the 5th Army on a front of about seven and a half miles, from the Zillebeke-Zandvoorde road to Boesinghe, inclusive.

Covering the right of the 5th Army, the task of the 2d Army was to advance a short distance only. Its principal object at this stage was to increase the area threatened by the attack and so force the enemy to distribute the fire of his artillery. I had other tasks in view for it at a later period.

On the left of the 5th Army the 1st French Army was to advance its right in close touch with the British forces and secure them from counterattack from the north. This entailed an advance of considerable depth over difficult country, and ultimately involved the capture of the whole peninsula lying between the Yser Canal and the floods of the St. Jansbeek and the Martjevaart.

The plan of attack on the 5th Army front was to advance in a series of bounds, with which the right of the 1st French Army was to keep step. These bounds were arranged so as to suit as far as possible both the position of the principal lines of the enemy's defenses and the configuration of the ground.

It was hoped that in this first attack our troops would succeed in establishing themselves on the crest of the high ground east of Ypres, on which a strong flank could be formed for subsequent operations, and would also secure the crossings of the Steenbeek. For this purpose four army corps were placed at the disposal of General Sir Hubert Gough.

The Battle Opened

(41) At 3:50 A. M. on the morning of the 31st of July the combined attack was launched. English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh troops delivered the main assault on the British front.

Preceded at zero hour by discharges of thermit and oil drums and covered by an accurate artillery barrage from a great number of guns, the allied infantry entered the Ger-

man lines at all points. The enemy's barrage was late and weak, and our casualties were light.

On the greater part of the front of the main attack the resistance of the German infantry was quickly overcome and rapid progress was made. The difficult country east of Ypres, where the Menin road crosses the crest of the Wytschaete - Passchendaele Ridge, formed, however, the key to the enemy's position, and here the most determined opposition was encountered. None the less, the attacking brigades, including a number of Lancashire battalions, regiments from all parts of England, and a few Scottish and Irish battalions, fought their way steadily forward through Shrewsbury Forest and Sanctuary Wood and captured Stirling Castle, Hooze, and the Bellewarde Ridge.

Further north British and French troops carried the whole of the first German trench system with scarcely a check, and proceeded in accordance with the time table to the assault of the enemy's second line of defense. Scottish troops took Verlorenhoek, and, continuing their advance, by 6 A. M. had reached Frezenberg, where for a short time stiff fighting took place before the village, and the strong defenses round it were captured. South of Pilckem a Prussian Guard battalion was broken up by Welsh troops after a brief resistance and Pilckem was taken. Sharp fighting occurred also at a number of other points, but in every instance the enemy's opposition was overcome.

At 9 A. M. the whole of our second objectives north of the Ypres-Roulers railway were in our possession, with the exception of a strong point north of Frezenberg, known as Pommern Redoubt, where fighting was still going on. Within an hour this redoubt also had been captured by West Lancashire territorials. On our left French troops made equal progress, capturing their objective in precise accordance with program and with little loss.

By this time our field artillery had begun to move up, and by 9:30 A. M. a number of batteries were already in action in their forward positions. The allied advance on this portion of our front was resumed at the hour planned. English county troops captured St. Julien, and from that point northward our final objectives were reached and passed. Highland territorials, Welsh and Guard battalions secured the crossings of the Steenbeek, and French troops, having also taken their final objectives, advanced beyond them and seized Bixchoote. A hostile counter-attack launched against the point of junction of the French and British armies was completely repulsed.

Meanwhile, south of the Ypres-Roulers railway, very heavy and continuous fighting was taking place on both sides of the Menin road.

After the capture of the German first-line system our troops on this part of our front had advanced in time with the divisions on

their left against their second objectives. Great opposition was at once encountered in front of two small woods known as Inverness Copse and Glencorse Wood, while further south a strong point in Shrewsbury Forest held out against our attacks till the morning of Aug. 1. North of Glencorse Wood English troops continued their advance in spite of the enemy's resistance and reached the village of Westhoek.

Later in the day heavy counterattacks began to develop from south of the Menin road northward to St. Julien. Our artillery caused great loss to the enemy in these attacks, although the weather was unfavorable for airplane work and observation for our batteries was difficult. At Inverness Copse and Glencorse Wood a few tanks succeeded in reaching the fighting line, in spite of exceedingly bad ground, and came into action with our infantry. Fierce fighting took place all day, but the enemy was unable to shake our hold upon the ridge.

Results of First Day

(42) At the end of the day, therefore, our troops on the 5th Army front had carried the German first system of defense south of Westhoek. Except at Westhoek itself, where they were established on the outskirts of the village, they had already gained the whole of the crest of the ridge and had denied the enemy observation over the Ypres plain. Further north they had captured the enemy's second line also as far as St. Julien. North of that village they had passed beyond the German second line, and held the line of the Steenbeek to our junction with the French.

On our left flank our allies had admirably completed the important task allotted to them. Close touch had been kept with the British troops on their right throughout the day. All and more than all their objectives had been gained rapidly and at exceptionally light cost, and the flank of the allied advance had been effectively secured.

Meanwhile the attack on the 2d Army front had also met with complete success. On the extreme right New Zealand troops had carried La Basse Ville after a sharp fight lasting some fifty minutes. On the left English troops had captured Hollebeke and the difficult ground north of the bend of the Ypres-Comines Canal and east of Battle Wood. Between these two points our line had been advanced on the whole front for distances varying from 200 to 800 yards.

Over 6,100 prisoners, including 133 officers, were captured by us in this battle. In addition to our gains in prisoners and ground we also captured some twenty-five guns, while a further number of prisoners and guns were taken by our allies.

Effect of the Weather

(43) The weather had been threatening throughout the day, and had rendered the work of our airplanes very difficult from the commencement of the battle. During the

afternoon, while fighting was still in progress, rain began, and fell steadily all night. Thereafter, for four days, the rain continued without cessation, and for several days afterward the weather remained stormy and unsettled. The low-lying, clayey soil, torn by shells and sodden with rain, turned to a succession of vast muddy pools. The valleys of the choked and overflowing streams were speedily transformed into long stretches of bog, impassable except by a few well-defined tracks, which became marks for the enemy's artillery. To leave these tracks was to risk death by drowning, and in the course of the subsequent fighting on several occasions both men and pack animals were lost in this way. In these conditions operations of any magnitude became impossible, and the resumption of our offensive was necessarily postponed until a period of fine weather should allow the ground to recover.

As had been the case in the Arras battle, this unavoidable delay in the development of our offensive was of the greatest service to the enemy. Valuable time was lost, the troops opposed to us were able to recover from the disorganization produced by our first attack, and the enemy was given the opportunity to bring up reinforcements.

St. Julien and Westhoek

(44) On the night of the 31st of July and on the two following days the enemy delivered further counterattacks against our new line, and in particular made determined efforts to dislodge us from the high ground between the Menin road and the Ypres-Roulers railway, and to recover his second-line system between Frezenberg and St. Julien. In this he completely failed. The violence of his artillery fire compelled us, however, to withdraw temporarily from St. Julien, though we retained a bridgehead across the Steenbeek, just north of the village.

In spite of these counterattacks and the great but unavoidable hardships from which our troops were suffering, steady progress was made with the consolidation of the captured ground, and every opportunity was taken to improve the line already gained.

On the 3d of August St. Julien was reoccupied without serious opposition, and our line linked up with the position we had retained on the right bank of the Steenbeek further north. A week later a successful minor operation carried out by English troops gave us complete possession of Westhoek. Seven hostile counterattacks within the following four days broke down before our defense.

During this period certain centres of resistance in the neighborhood of Kortekeer Cabaret were cleared up by our allies, and a number of fortified farmhouses, lying across the front of the French position, were reduced in turn.

Lens Operations Resumed

(45) Toward the middle of August a slight improvement took place in the weather, and

advantage was taken of this to launch our second attack east of Ypres. Thereafter unsettled weather again set in, and the month closed as the wettest August that has been known for many years.

On the day preceding this attack at Ypres a highly successful operation was carried out in the neighborhood of Lens, whereby the situation of our forces in that sector was greatly improved. At the same time the threat to Lens itself was rendered more immediate and more insistent, and the enemy was prevented from concentrating the whole of his attention and resources upon the front of our main offensive.

At 4:25 A. M. on Aug. 15 the Canadian corps attacked on a front of 4,000 yards southeast and east of Loos. The objectives consisted of the strongly fortified hill known as Hill 70, which had been reached, but not held, in the battle of Loos on Sept. 25, 1915, and also the mining suburbs of Cité Ste. Elizabeth, Cité St. Emile, and Cité St. Laurent, together with the whole of Bois Rase and the western half of Bois Hugo. The observation from Hill 70 had been very useful to the enemy, and in our possession materially increased our command over the defenses of Lens.

Practically the whole of these objectives was gained rapidly at light cost and in exact accordance with plan. Only at the furthest apex of our advance a short length of German trench west of Cité St. Auguste resisted our first assault. This position was again attacked on the afternoon of the following day and captured after a fierce struggle lasting far into the night.

A number of local counterattacks on the morning of Aug. 15 were repulsed, and in the evening a powerful attack delivered across the open by a German reserve division was broken up with heavy loss. In addition to the enemy's other casualties, 1,120 prisoners from three German divisions were captured by us.

The Ypres Battle—Langemarck

(46) Close upon the heels of this success, at 4:45 A. M. on Aug. 16 our second attack was launched east and north of Ypres on a front extending from the northwest corner of Inverness Copse to our junction with the French south of St. Janshoek. On our left the French undertook the task of clearing up the remainder of the Blixchoote peninsula.

On the left of the British attack the English brigades detailed for the assault captured the hamlet of Wijndendrift and reached the southern outskirts of Langemarck. Here some resistance was encountered, but by 8 A. M. the village had been taken, after sharp fighting. Our troops then proceeded to attack the portion of the Langemarck-Gheluvelt line which formed their final objective, and an hour later had gained this also, with the exception of a short length of trench northeast of Langemarck. Two small counterattacks were repulsed without difficulty.

The attack of the 1st French Army delivered at the same hour was equally successful. On the right a few fortified farms in the neighborhood of the Steenbeek again gave trouble, and held out for a time. Elsewhere our allies gained their objectives rapidly, and once more at exceptionally light cost. The bridgehead of Die Grachten was secured, and the whole of the peninsula cleared of the enemy.

In the centre of the British attack the enemy's resistance was more obstinate. The difficulty of making deep-mined dugouts in soil where water lay within a few feet of the surface of the ground had compelled the enemy to construct in the ruins of farms and in other suitable localities a number of strong points or "pillboxes" built of reinforced concrete often many feet thick.

These field forts, distributed in depth all along the front of our advance, offered a serious obstacle to progress. They were heavily armed with machine guns and manned by men determined to hold on at all costs. Many were reduced as our troops advanced, but others held out throughout the day, and delayed the arrival of our supports. In addition, weather conditions made airplane observation practically impossible, with the result that no warning was received of the enemy's counterattacks, and our infantry obtained little artillery help against them. When, therefore, later in the morning a heavy counterattack developed in the neighborhood of the Wieltje-Passchendaele road, our troops, who had reached their final objectives at many points in this area also, were gradually compelled to fall back.

On the left centre West Lancashire territorials and troops from other English counties established themselves on a line running north from St. Julien to the old German third line due east of Langemarck. This line they maintained against the enemy's attacks, and thereby secured the flank of our gains further north.

On the right of the British attack the enemy again developed the main strength of his resistance. At the end of a day of very heavy fighting, except for small gains of ground on the western edge of Glencorse Wood and north of Westhoek, the situation south of St. Julien remained unchanged.

In spite of this partial check on the southern portion of our attack, the day closed as a decided success for the Allies. A wide gap had been made in the old German third-line system, and over 2,100 prisoners and some thirty guns had been captured.

Effect of Hostile Resistance

(47) The strength of the resistance developed by the enemy at this stage in the neighborhood of the Menin road decided me to extend the flank of the next attack southward. It was undesirable, however, either to increase the already wide front of attack for which the 5th Army was responsible or to divide between two armies the control of

the attack against the main ridge itself. I therefore determined to extend the left of the 2d Army northward, intrusting the attack upon the whole of the high ground crossed by the Menin road to General Sir Hubert Plumer as a single self-contained operation, to be carried out in conjunction with the attacks of the 5th Army further north.

During the wet weather which prevailed throughout the remainder of the month, our efforts were confined to a number of small operations east and northeast of Ypres, designed to reduce certain of the more important of the enemy's strong points. In the meantime the necessary rearrangements of the British forces were pushed on as rapidly as possible so that our new attack might be ready directly the weather should improve sufficiently to enable it to be undertaken.

These arrangements included a modification of our artillery tactics, to meet the situation created by the change in the enemy's methods of defense.

Our recent successes had conclusively proved that the enemy's infantry were unable to hold the strongest defenses against a properly mounted attack, and that increasing the number of his troops in his forward defense system merely added to his losses. Accordingly, the enemy had adopted a system of elastic defense, in which his forward trench lines were held only in sufficient strength to disorganize the attack, while the bulk of his forces were kept in close reserve, ready to deliver a powerful and immediate blow which might recover the positions overrun by our troops before we had time to consolidate them.

In the heavy fighting east of Ypres these tactics had undoubtedly met with a certain measure of success. While unable to drive

us back from the ridge, they had succeeded in combination with the state of the ground and weather in checking our progress. This new policy, for our early knowledge of which, as well as for other valuable information concerning the enemy's dispositions and intentions throughout the battle, much credit is due to the zeal and efficiency of my Intelligence Service, necessarily entailed corresponding changes in our method of attack.

Minor Operations.

(48) In the interval, on Aug. 19, 22, and 27, positions of considerable local importance in the neighborhood of St. Julien were captured with some hundreds of prisoners as the result of minor attacks conducted under the most unfavorable conditions of ground and weather. The ground gained represented an advance of about 800 yards on a front of over two miles. In combination with the attack of Aug. 22 English troops also attacked astride the Menin road, and after six days of continuous local fighting established themselves in the western edge of Inverness Copse.

Meanwhile, in pursuance of my policy of compelling the enemy to guard himself on other fronts, successful minor operations had been undertaken elsewhere. On the Lens front Canadian troops attacked on the 21st of August and carried the line of German trenches skirting the town to the southwest and west, taking 200 prisoners. Further south north country troops attacked on the 26th of August east of Hargicourt and captured the enemy's advanced positions on a front of a mile. In this operation 136 prisoners were taken, and on the 9th and 11th of September our gains were extended and further prisoners secured.

The Ypres Battle—Preparations for the Third Attack

(49) At the beginning of September the weather gradually improved, and artillery and other preparations for my next attack proceeded steadily. Both the extent of the preparations required, however, and the need to give the ground time to recover from the heavy rains of August rendered a considerable interval unavoidable before a new advance could be undertaken. The 20th of September was therefore chosen for the date of our attack, and before that day our preparations had been completed.

The front selected extended from the Ypres-Comines Canal north of Hollebeke to the Ypres-Staden railway north of Langemarck, a distance of just over eight miles along the line then held by us. The average depth of our objectives was 1,000 yards, which increased to a depth of a mile in the neighborhood of the Menin road. Australian, English, Scottish, and South African troops were employed in the attack, and gained a success

conspicuous for precision and thoroughness of execution.

The Menin Road Ridge

(50) During the night of the 19th-20th of September rain again fell steadily, and when dawn broke thick mist made observation impossible. Despite this disadvantage, the assembling of our troops was carried out in good order, and at 5:40 A. M. on the 20th of September the assault was launched.

Good progress was made from the start, and, as the morning wore on, the mist cleared. Our airplanes were able to establish contact with our infantry, to assist them by engaging parties of the enemy with machine-gun fire, and to report hostile concentrations and counterattacks to our artillery.

On our right, Welsh and west country troops advanced down the spur east of Klein Zillebeke, and, after sharp fighting in the small woods north of the Ypres-Comines Canal,

gained the whole of their objectives. English battalions pushed through the eastern portions of Shrewsbury Forest and reached their objectives in the valley of the Bassevillebeek. Regiments from the southeast counties of England had some trouble from snipers and machine guns early in their advance, but ultimately fought their way forward across the upper valley of the Bassevillebeek and up the slopes of Tower Hamlets. Here strong opposition was encountered, with heavy machine-gun fire from Tower Hamlets and the Veldhoek Ridge.

In the meantime, however, north country troops had already carried Inverness Copse, and, after beating off a counterattack in the neighborhood of Dumbarton Lakes, captured Veldhoek and the line of their final objectives, some 500 yards further east. Their progress assisted the southeast county battalions on their right to establish themselves across the Tower Hamlets Spur.

On the left of the north country division Australian troops carried the remainder of Glencorse Wood and Nonne Boschen. Before 10 A. M. they had taken the hamlet of Polygonveld and the old German third line to the north of it. This advance constituted a fine performance, in which the capture of a difficult piece of ground that had much delayed us was successfully completed. Sharp fighting took place at a strong point known as Black Watch Corner, at the southwestern end of Polygon Wood. By midday this had been captured, the western portion of Polygon Wood had been cleared of the enemy, and the whole of our objectives on this part of our front had been gained.

On the 5th Army front our attack met with equal success. Scottish and South African troops, advancing on both sides of the Ypres-Roulers railway, stormed the line of fortified farms immediately in front of their position, and, pressing on, captured Zonnebeke and Bremen Redoubts and the hamlet of Zevenkote. By 8:45 A. M. our final objectives on this front had been gained.

West Lancashire territorial battalions found the ground southeast of St. Julien very wet and heavy after the night's rain. None the less, they made steady progress, reaching the line of their final objectives early in the afternoon. North of the Zonnebeke-Langemarck road London and Highland territorials gained the whole of their objectives by midday, though stiff fighting took place for a number of farms and strong places.

As the result of this most successful operation, the whole of the high ground crossed by the Menin road, for which such desperate fighting had taken place during our previous attacks, passed into our possession. Important positions were won, also, on the remainder of our front, by which the right of our attack was rendered more secure, and the way opened for the advance of our left. In the attack, as well as in the repeated counterattacks which followed, exceedingly heavy casualties were inflicted on the enemy,

and 3,243 prisoners, together with a number of guns, were captured by us.

Counterattacks

(51) The enemy did not abandon these important positions without further severe struggles. During the afternoon and evening of Sept. 20 no less than eleven counterattacks were made without success against different parts of our new front, in addition to several concentrations of hostile infantry, which were broken up by our artillery before any attack could be launched.

East of St. Julien the enemy at his third attempt succeeded in forcing back our troops to the west of Schuler Farm, but on the following day the farm was retaken by us and our line re-established. Northeast of Langemarck stubborn fighting took place for the possession of the short length of trench which, as already recounted, had resisted our attacks on Aug. 16. It was not till the morning of Sept. 23 that the position was finally captured by us.

Fierce fighting took place also on Sept. 21 in the neighborhood of Tower Hamlets. In the course of this and the following four days three powerful attacks were launched by the enemy on wide fronts between Tower Hamlets and Polygon Wood, and a fourth northeast of St. Julien. All these attacks were repulsed, except that on Sept. 25 parties of German infantry succeeded in entering our lines north of the Menin road. Heavy and confused fighting took place in this area throughout the day, in which English, Scottish, and Australian troops gradually drove the enemy from the limited foothold he had gained.

The enemy's casualties in these many counterattacks, as well as in all those subsequently delivered by him on the Ypres front, were consistently very heavy. Our constant successful resistance reflects the greatest credit on the high fighting qualities of our infantry, on the courage and devotion of our airmen, and upon the excellence of our artillery arrangements.

Polygon Wood and Zonnebeke

(52) All this heavy fighting was not allowed to interfere with the arrangements made for a renewal of the advance by the 2d and 5th Armies on Sept. 26.

The front of our attack on that date extended from south of Tower Hamlets to northeast of St. Julien, a total distance of rather less than six miles; but on the portion of this front south of the Menin road only a short advance was intended. North of the Menin road our object was to reach a position from which a direct attack could be made upon the portion of the main ridge between Noodemdhoeck and Broodseinde, traversed by the Becelaere-Passchendaele road.

The assault was delivered at 5:50 A. M., and, after hard and prolonged fighting, in which over 1,600 prisoners were taken by us,

achieved a success as striking as that of Sept. 20.

Australian troops carried the remainder of Polygon Wood, together with the German trench line to the east of it, and established themselves on their objectives beyond the Becelaere-Zonnebeke road. On the left of the Australians, English troops took Zonnebeke village and church, and North Midland and London territorial battalions captured a long line of hostile strong points on both sides of the Wieltje-Gravenstafel road.

South of Polygon Wood an obstinate struggle took place for a group of fortified farms and strong points. English, Scottish, and Welsh battalions of the same divisions that had borne the brunt of the enemy's attacks in this area on the previous day gallantly fought their way forward. In their advance they effected the relief of two companies of Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, who, with great courage and resolution, had held out in our forward line all night, although isolated from the rest of our troops. It was not until the evening of the 27th of September, however, that the line of our objectives in this locality was completely gained.

Further Counterattacks

(53) As had been the case on the 20th of September, our advance was at once followed by a series of powerful counterattacks.

There is evidence that our operations had anticipated a counterstroke which the enemy was preparing for the evening of the 26th of September, and the German troops brought up for this purpose were now hurled in to recover the positions he had lost. In the course of the day at least seven attacks were delivered at points covering practically the whole front from Tower Hamlets to St. Julien. The fiercest fighting prevailed in the sector between the Reutelbeek and Polygon Wood, but here, as elsewhere, all the enemy's assaults were beaten off.

On the 30th of September, when the enemy had recovered from the disorganization caused by his defeat, he recommenced his attacks. Two attempts to advance with flammenwerfer north of the Menin road were followed on the 1st of October by five other attacks in this area, and on the same day a sixth attack was made south of the Ypres-Roulers railway. Except for the temporary loss of the two advanced posts southeast of Polygon Wood, all these attacks were repulsed with great loss. At dawn on the 3d of October another attempt in the neighborhood of the Menin road broke down before our positions.

Further Advance on the Main Ridge

(54) The spell of fine weather was broken on the evening of Oct. 3 by a heavy gale and rain from the southwest. These conditions serve to emphasize the credit due to the troops for the completeness of the success gained by them on the following day.

At 6 A. M. on Oct. 4 our advance was renewed, in accordance with plan, against the

main line of the ridge east of Zonnebeke. The front of our principal attack extended from the Menin road to the Ypres-Staden railway, a distance of about seven miles. South of the Menin road a short advance was undertaken on a front of about a mile, with the object of capturing certain strong points required to strengthen our position in this sector.

The attack was carried out by Australian, New Zealand, and English divisions, including among the latter a few Scottish, Irish, and Welsh battalions, and was successful at all points.

On the right of the main attack troops from Kent, Devon, and Cornwall, and a battalion of the King's Own Scottish Borderers carried their objectives after heavy fighting in the neighborhood of Polderhoek Château. Battalions from Yorkshire, Northumberland, Surrey, and Lincolnshire cleared the small inclosures east of Polygon Wood and seized the village of Reutel, meeting with strong opposition. On their left, Surrey, Staffordshire, Devon, Border, and Highland troops, advancing across the crest of the ridge, captured the hamlet of Noordendhoek.

Further north, Australian troops advanced beyond the Becelaere-Passchendaele road, storming Molenaerelsthoed and Broodseinde, and established themselves well to the east of the crest line. New Zealand troops carried Gravenstafel, and drove the enemy from a network of trenches and strong points on the Gravenstafel Spur.

On the whole of this front the enemy was met in great strength. In addition to the two German divisions already in line, the enemy had brought up three fresh divisions, with a view to launching an attack in force upon the positions captured by us on the 26th of September. Our advance anticipated this attack by ten minutes, and the German infantry were forming up for the assault when our artillery barrage opened. Very serious casualties were inflicted on the enemy by our artillery, and our infantry, advancing with the bayonet, quickly overcame the resistance of those of his troops who had escaped our shellfire. Great numbers of prisoners were taken.

On the left of our attack South Midland troops forced their way across the valley of the Stroombeek, in spite of difficulties due to the rain of the previous night, and gained their objectives according to program, with the exception of a single strong point at the limit of their advance. Other English divisions, advancing on both sides of the Poelcappelle road, stormed the western half of that village, including the church, and captured the whole of their objectives for the day. Tanks took part in the attack on Poelcappelle and contributed to the success of our troops.

On the extreme left considerable opposition was met with, and determined fighting took place for the possession of the rising ground known as Nineteen-Meter Hill. Early in the afternoon a hostile counterattack forced us

back from a portion of this position, but later in the day our troops returned to the attack and recovered the lost ground.

Meanwhile, south of the Menin road, English troops had gained the whole of their limited objectives with the exception of two strong points. Soon after midday our final objectives had been gained, and large numbers of prisoners had already been brought in. The final total of German prisoners captured in these operations exceeded 5,000, including 138 officers. A few guns and many machine guns and trench mortars were also taken by us.

The destruction of the divisions which the enemy had assembled for his intended attack made immediate serious counterattacks impossible for him on a great part of our front. Between the Menin road and the neighborhood of Reutel, however, no less than seven counterattacks were beaten off in turn. Exceedingly heavy fighting took place in this area, and later in the day an eighth attack succeeded in dislodging us from Polderhoek Château and from the eastern portions of Reutel. Another determined counterattack delivered in three waves early in the afternoon north of the Ypres-Roulers railway was broken up by our artillery, rifle, and machine-gun fire. Hostile concentrations east of Zonnebeke and west of Passchendaele were dispersed by our artillery.

Results of This Attack

(55) The success of this operation marked a definite step in the development of our advance. Our line had now been established along the main ridge for 9,000 yards from our starting point near Mount Sorrel. From the furthest point reached the well-marked Gravenstafel Spur offered a defensible feature along which our line could be bent back from the ridge.

The year was far spent. The weather had been consistently unpropitious, and the state of the ground, in consequence of rain and shelling combined, made movement inconceivably difficult. The resultant delays had given the enemy time to bring up reinforcements and to organize his defense after each defeat. Even so, it was still the difficulty of movement far more than hostile resistance which continued to limit our progress, and now made it doubtful whether the capture of the remainder of the ridge before Winter finally set in was possible.

On the other hand, there was no reason to anticipate an abnormally wet October. The enemy had suffered severely, as was evidenced by the number of prisoners in our hands, by the number of his dead on the battlefield, by the costly failure of his repeated counterattacks, and by the symptoms of confusion and discouragement in his ranks.

In this connection, documents captured in the course of the battle of the 4th of October throw an interesting light upon the success of the measures taken by us to meet the enemy's new system of defense by counter-

attack. These documents show that the German Higher Command had already recognized the failure of their methods, and were endeavoring to revert to something approximating to their old practice of holding their forward positions in strength.

After weighing these considerations, as well as the general situation and various other factors affecting the problem, among them the desirability of assisting our allies in the operations to be carried out by them on Oct. 23 in the neighborhood of Malmesdon, I decided to continue the offensive further and to renew the advance at the earliest possible moment consistent with adequate preparation.

Accordingly, I determined to deliver the next combined French and British attack on Oct. 9.

Houthulst Forest Reached

(56) Unfortunately, bad weather still persisted in the early part of October, and on Oct. 7 heavy rain fell all day. The unfavorable conditions interfered with our artillery preparations; but every effort was made to engage the enemy's batteries in their new positions, and on the date last mentioned our artillery co-operated effectively in the repulse of two hostile attacks.

On Oct. 8 rain continued, and the slippery state of the ground, combined with an exceptionally dark night, made the assembling of our troops a matter of considerable difficulty. No interference, however, was encountered from the enemy's artillery, and at 5:20 A. M. on Oct. 9 our attack was renewed on a front of over six miles, from a point east of Zonnebeke to our junction with the French northwest of Langemark. On our left our allies prolonged the front of attack to a point opposite Draalbanc. At the same time minor operations were undertaken on the right of our main attack, east and southeast of Polygon Wood.

The greatest depth of our advance was on the left, where the allied troops penetrated the German positions to a distance of nearly one and a half miles. French troops and British Guards crossed the flooded valley of the Broenbeek, and, making steady progress toward their objectives, captured the hamlets of Koekuit, Veldhoek, Mangelare, and St. Janshoek, besides woods and a great number of farmhouses and strong points. Early in the afternoon both French and British troops had established themselves on their final objectives on the outskirts of Houthulst Forest.

On the right of the Guards, other English divisions made equal progress along the Ypres-Staden railway, and secured a line well to the east of the Poelcappelle-Houthulst road. Still fighting took place around certain strong points, in the course of which a hostile counterattack was repulsed.

Further south English battalions fought their way forward in the face of great opposition to the eastern outskirts of Poelcappelle village. Australian troops and East Lancashire, Yorkshire, and South Midland ter-

ritorials carried our line forward in the direction of Passchendaele and up the western slopes of the main ridge, capturing Nieuwemolen and Keerselaarhoek and a number of strong points and fortified farms.

In the subsidiary attack east of Polygon Wood Warwickshire and H. A. C. battalions successfully regained the remainder of Reutel.

Over 2,100 prisoners were taken by the Allies in the course of these operations, together with a few guns.

Progress Continued

(57) Though the condition of the ground continued to deteriorate, the weather after this was unsettled rather than persistently wet, and progress had not yet become impossible. I accordingly decided to press on while circumstances still permitted, and arrangements were made for a renewal of the attack on the 12th of October. On the night of the 11th-12th of October, however, heavy rain commenced again, and after a brief interval during the morning continued steadily throughout the whole of the following day.

Our attack, launched at 5:25 A. M. on the 12th of October between the Ypres-Roulers railway and Houthulst Forest, made progress along the spurs and higher ground; but the valleys of the streams which run westward from the main ridge were found to be impassable. It was therefore determined not to persist in the attack, and the advance toward our more distant objectives was canceled.

Certain strong points and fortified farms on the western slopes of the ridge were captured on this day, and were incorporated in our line. Further north, on both sides of the Ypres-Staden railway, English county divisions and the Guards gained their objectives in spite of all difficulties. Though for many hours the position of our advanced troops on this part of our front was uncertain, communication was at length established and the captured ground maintained.

Over 1,000 prisoners were taken by us in this attack, in which the troops employed displayed remarkable gallantry, steadfastness and endurance in circumstances of extreme hardship.

Plan of Subsequent Operations

(58) By this time the persistent continuation of wet weather had left no further room for hope that the condition of the ground would improve sufficiently to enable us to capture the remainder of the ridge this year. By limited attacks made during intervals of better weather, however, it would still be possible to progress as far as Passchendaele, and in view of other projects which I had in view it was desirable to maintain pressure on the Flanders front for a few weeks longer.

To maintain his defense on this front the enemy had been obliged to reduce the garrison of certain other parts of his line to a degree which justified the expectation that a sudden attack at a point where he did not

expect it might attain a considerable local success. The front for such an attempt had been selected and plans had already been quietly made. But certain preparations and movements of troops required time to complete, and the 20th of November had been fixed as the earliest date for the attack.

No large force could be made available for the enterprise. The prospects of success therefore depended on complete secrecy and on maintaining sufficient activity in Flanders to induce the enemy to continue his concentration of troops in that theatre.

As has been indicated above, our allies also had certain limited operations in view which would be likely to benefit by the maintenance of pressure on my front, and, reciprocally, would add to the prospects of success of my intended surprise attack. Accordingly, while preparing for the latter, operations of limited scope were continued in Flanders.

The Merckem Peninsula

(59) After the middle of October the weather improved, and on Oct. 22 two successful operations, in which we captured over 200 prisoners and gained positions of considerable local importance east of Poelcappelle and within the southern edge of Houthulst Forest, were undertaken by us, in the one case by east county and Northumberland troops, and in the other by west county and Scots battalions in co-operation with the French.

The following two days were unsettled, but on Oct. 25 a strong west wind somewhat dried the surface of the ground. It was therefore decided to proceed with the allied operations which had been planned for Oct. 26.

At an early hour on that morning rain unfortunately began again and fell heavily all day. The assembling of our troops was completed successfully none the less, and at 5:45 A. M. English and Canadian troops attacked on a front extending from the Ypres-Roulers railway to beyond Poelcappelle.

The Canadians attacked on the right on both sides of the small stream known as the Ravebeek, which flows southwestward from Passchendaele. On the left bank of the stream they advanced astride the main ridge and established themselves securely on the small hill south of Passchendaele. North of the Ravebeek strong resistance was met on the Bellevue Spur, a very strong point which had resisted our efforts in previous attacks. With splendid determination the Canadians renewed their attack on this point in the afternoon, and captured it. Two strong counterattacks south and west of Passchendaele were beaten off, and by nightfall the Canadians had gained practically the whole of their objectives.

On the left of the Canadians the Royal Naval Division and battalions of London territorials also advanced, and, in spite of im-

mense difficulties from marsh and floods in the more low-lying ground, made progress.

In a subsidiary attack undertaken by us at the same hour English troops entered Gheluvelt and recaptured Polderhoek Château, with a number of prisoners. Our men's rifles, however, had become choked with mud in their advance, and when later in the morning strong German counterattacks developed they were obliged to withdraw.

The operations of our allies on this day were limited to establishing bridgeheads across the floods of the St. Jansbeek. This was successfully accomplished, in spite of considerable opposition. Next day the French continued their advance in concert with Belgian troops, who crossed the Yser opposite Knockehoek, and captured Aschhoop, Kippe, and Merckem. The southern end of Blankaart Lake was reached on the same day, and early on the 28th of October French and Belgian troops completed the capture of the whole Merckem Peninsula.

Over 400 prisoners were taken by our allies in these operations, bringing the total allied captures since the commencement of our attacks on the 26th of October to over 1,200.

Passchendaele

(60) At this date the need for the policy of activity outlined above had been still further emphasized by recent developments in Italy. Additional importance was given to it by the increasing probability that a time was approaching when the enemy's power of drawing reinforcements from Russia would increase considerably. In pursuance of this policy, therefore, two short advances were made on the 30th of October and the 6th of November, by which we gained possession of Passchendaele.

In the first operation Canadian and English troops attacked at 5:50 A. M. on a front extending from the Ypres-Roulers railway to the Poelcappelle-Westroosebeke road.

On the right the Canadians continued their advance along the high ground and reached the outskirts of Passchendaele, capturing an important position at Crest Farm on a small hill southwest of the village. Fighting was severe at all points, but particularly on the spur west of Passchendaele. Here no less than five strong counterattacks were beaten off in the course of the day, our troops being greatly assisted by the fire of captured German machine guns in Crest Farm.

Further north, battalions of the same London and naval divisions that had taken part in the attack on the 26th of October again made progress wherever it was possible to find a way across the swamps. The almost impassable nature of the ground in this area, however, made movement practically impossible, and it was only on the main ridge that much could be effected.

During the succeeding days small advances were made by night southwest of Passchendaele, and a hostile attack on both sides of the Ypres-Roulers railway was successfully repulsed.

At 6 A. M. on the 6th of November Canadian troops renewed their attack and captured the village of Passchendaele, together with the high ground immediately to the north and northwest. Sharp fighting took place for the possession of "pillboxes" in the northern end of the village, around Mosselmarkt, and on the Goudberg Spur. All objectives were gained at an early hour, and at 8:50 A. M. a hostile counterattack north of Passchendaele was beaten off.

Over 400 prisoners were captured in this most successful attack, by which for the second time within the year Canadian troops achieved a record of uninterrupted success. Four days later, in extremely unfavorable weather, British and Canadian troops attacked northward from Passchendaele and Goudberg, and captured further ground on the main ridge after heavy fighting.

General Review of the Summer's Fighting

(61) These operations concluded our Flanders offensive for the time being, although considerable activity was still continued for another fortnight, for purposes already explained.

This offensive, maintained for three and a half months under the most adverse conditions of weather, had entailed almost superhuman exertions on the part of the troops of all arms and services. The enemy had done his utmost to hold his ground, and in his endeavors to do so had used up no less than seventy-eight divisions, of which eighteen had been engaged a second or third time in the battle, after being withdrawn to rest and refit. Despite the magnitude of his efforts, it was the immense natural difficulties, accentuated manifold by the abnormally wet weather, rather than the enemy's resistance,

which limited our progress and prevented the complete capture of the ridge.

What was actually accomplished under such adverse conditions is the most conclusive proof that, given a normally fine August, the capture of the whole ridge, within the space of a few weeks, was well within the power of the men who achieved so much. They advanced every time with absolute confidence in their power to overcome the enemy, even though they had sometimes to struggle through mud up to their waists to reach him. So long as they could reach him they did overcome him, but physical exhaustion placed narrow limits on the depth to which each advance could be pushed, and compelled long pauses between the advances. The full fruits of each success were consequently not always obtained. Time

after time the practically beaten enemy was enabled to reorganize and relieve his men and to bring up reinforcements behind the sea of mud which constituted his main protection.

Notwithstanding the many difficulties, much has been achieved. Our captures in Flanders since the commencement of operations at the end of July amount to 24,065 prisoners, 74 guns, 941 machine guns, and 138 trench mortars. It is certain that the enemy's losses considerably exceeded ours. Most important of all, our new and hastily trained armies have shown once again that they are capable of meeting and beating the enemy's best troops, even under conditions which favored his defense to a degree which it required the greatest endurance, determination, and heroism to overcome.

In this respect I desire once more to lay emphasis upon the supreme importance of adequate training prior to placing troops in the line of battle, whether for offense or defense. It is essential, if preventable sacrifice is to be avoided and success assured, that troops that are going into battle should first be given an opportunity for special training, under the officers who are to command them in the fight, for the task which they are to be called upon to perform.

Owing to the necessity, already referred to, of taking over line from the French, our offensive at the beginning of the year was commenced under a very definite handicap in this respect. This initial disadvantage was subsequently increased by the difficulty of obtaining adequate drafts a sufficient length of time before divisions were called upon to take their place in the battle, to enable the drafts to be assimilated into divisions, and divisions to be trained.

The general conditions of the struggle this year have been very different from those contemplated at the conference of the allied commanders held in November, 1916. The great general and simultaneous offensive then agreed on did not materialize. Russia, though some of her leaders made a fine effort at one period, not only failed to give the help expected of her, but even failed to prevent the enemy from transferring some forty fresh divisions from her front in exchange for tired ones used up in the western theatre, or from replacing losses in his divisions on this side by drafts of fresh and well-trained men drawn from divisions in the east.

The combined French and British offensive in the Spring was launched before Italy could be ready; and the splendid effort made by Italy at a later period was, unfortunately, followed by developments which resulted in a weakening of the allied forces in this theatre before the conclusion of our offensive.

In these circumstances the task of the British and French Armies has been a far heavier one throughout the year than was originally anticipated, and the enemy's means

of meeting our attack have been far greater than either he or we could have expected.

That under such conditions the victories of Arras, Vimy, Messines, and Flanders were won by us, and those at Moronvillers, Verdun, and Malmaison by the French, constitutes a record of which the allied armies, working in close touch throughout, have a right to be proud.

The British armies have taken their full share in the fighting on the western front. Save for such short intervals as were enforced by the weather or rendered necessary for the completion of the preparations for our principal attacks, they have maintained a vigorous and continuous offensive throughout practically the whole of the period covered by this dispatch. No other example of offensive action on so large a scale, so long and so successfully sustained, has yet been furnished by the war.

In the operations of Arras, Messines, Lens, and Ypres as many as 131 German divisions have been engaged and defeated by less than half that number of British divisions.

The number of prisoners and guns captured by us is an indication of the progress we have made. The total number of prisoners taken between the opening of our Spring offensive on the 9th of April, 1917, and the conclusion of the Flanders offensive, exclusive of prisoners captured in the Cambrai battle, is 57,696, including 1,290 officers. During the same period and in the same offensives we have also captured 393 guns, including 109 heavy guns, 561 trench mortars, and 1,976 machine guns.

Without reckoning, therefore, the possibilities which have been opened up by our territorial gains in Flanders, and without considering the effect which a less vigorous prosecution of the war by us might have had in other theatres, we have every reason to be satisfied with the results which have been achieved by the past year's fighting. The addition of strength which the enemy has obtained, or may yet obtain, from events in Russia and Italy has already largely been discounted, and the ultimate destruction of the enemy's field forces has been brought appreciably nearer.

The Defensive Fronts

(62) Before passing from the subject of the operations of the past eight months, tribute must be paid to the work accomplished on the defensive portions of our line.

In order to meet the urgent demands of battle, the number of divisions in line on other fronts has necessarily been reduced to the minimum consistent with safety. In consequence, constant vigilance and heavy and unremitting labor have been required at all times of the troops holding these fronts.

The numerous feint attacks which have been organized from time to time have called for great care, forethought, and ingenuity on the part of commanders and staffs concerned, and have demanded much courageous, skillful,

and arduous work from the troops intrusted with the task of carrying them out. In addition, raids and local operations have continued to form a prominent feature of our general policy on our defensive front, and have been effectively combined with our feint attacks and with gas discharges. In

the course of the 270 successful raids carried out by us during the period covered by this dispatch, the greatest enterprise and skill have been displayed by our troops, and many hundreds of prisoners, together with much invaluable information, have been obtained at comparatively light cost.

Deeds of Various Branches of the Service

(63) In my dispatch dealing with the Somme battle I endeavored to express something of the profound admiration inspired in me by the indomitable courage, tireless energy, and cheerful endurance of the men by whose efforts the British armies in France were brought triumphantly through that mighty ordeal. Today the armies of the empire can look back with yet greater pride upon still severer tests successfully withstood and an even higher record of accomplishment.

No one acquainted with the facts can review the general course of the campaigns of 1916 and 1917 without acquiring the sense of a steady progression, in which the fighting superiority of the British soldier has been asserted with ever-increasing insistence. This feeling permeates the troops themselves, and is the greatest guarantee of victory.

Infantry

Throughout the northern operations our troops have been fighting over ground every foot of which is sacred to the memory of those who, in the first and second battles of Ypres, fought and died to make possible the victories of the armies which today are rolling back the tide stayed by their sacrifice. It is no disparagement of the gallant deeds performed on other fronts to say that, in the stubborn struggle for the line of hills which stretches from Wytchaete to Passchendaele, the great armies that today are shouldering the burden of our empire have shown themselves worthy of the regiments which, in October and November of 1914, made Ypres take rank forever among the most glorious of British battles.

Throughout the months of strenuous fighting which have wiped the old Ypres salient from the battle map of Flanders the finest qualities of our infantry have been displayed. The great material disadvantages of the position from which they had to attack, the strength of the enemy's fortifications, and the extraordinary hardships imposed by the conditions of ground and weather during August and throughout the later stages of the attack, called for the exercise of courage, determination, and endurance to a degree which has never been surpassed in war.

Artillery

The courage of our infantry would have been in vain but for the skill, steadfastness, and devotion of the artillery. Their task in the Ypres battle was again a peculiarly

hard one. The long preparatory bombardments had to be conducted from a narrow and confined space, for the most part destitute alike of cover and protection and directly overlooked by the enemy.

As our infantry advanced, our guns had to follow, at the cost of almost incredible exertion, over ground torn by shellfire and sodden with rain. When at length the new positions had been reached, our batteries had to remain in action, practically without protection of any kind, day after day, week after week, and even month after month, under a continuous bombardment of gas and high explosive shell.

It would be easy to multiply instances of individual heroism, to quote cases where, when the signal from our infantry for urgent artillery support and the warning of German gas have been given at the same moment, our gunners have thrown aside their half-adjusted gas masks and, with full knowledge of the consequences, have fought their guns in response to the call of the infantry till the enemy's attack has been beaten off.

A single incident which occurred during the preparation for the attack of the 31st of July may be taken as a general example. A howitzer battery had received orders to cut a section of German wire in the neighborhood of Hooze, and 400 rounds had been allocated for the purpose. The battery, situated in an unavoidably exposed position in the neighborhood of Zillebeke Lake, had already been subjected to constant shelling. On the occasion referred to not more than 50 rounds had been fired at the German wire, when a hostile 15-centimeter battery opened a steady and accurate fire in enfilade. Each time the British battery opened, salvos of 15-centimeter shells raked its position. Four of its six guns were put out of action, and two ammunition dumps were blown up, but the remaining two guns continued in action until the last of the 400 rounds had been fired. A few days later, when our infantry advanced over the sector this battery had shelled, the enemy's wire was found to have been completely cut.

The debt owed to the artillery throughout the whole of this year's fighting, and particularly in the Ypres battle, is very great. Despite the extraordinary strain to which the gunners have been subjected, yet, wherever conditions of weather and light have made accurate shooting possible, they have never failed to dominate the German batteries. As the result of their close and loyal co-

operation through long periods of continuous fighting, hostile artillery has never succeeded in stopping our attacks. Our infantry would be the first to acknowledge their admirable devotion and self-sacrifice.

Royal Flying Corps

During the past year the part played by the Royal Flying Corps in modern battles has grown more and more important. Each successive attack has served to demonstrate with increasing clearness the paramount necessity for the closest co-operation between air and land arms. All must work together on a general plan toward our end—the defeat of the enemy's forces.

In accordance with this governing consideration, co-operation with artillery, photography, and reconnaissance have been greatly developed and actively continued. Air fighting has taken place on an ever-increasing scale in order to enable the machines engaged upon these tasks to carry out their work. In addition, a definite aerial offensive, in which long-distance raiding has taken a prominent place, has become a recognized part of the preparations for infantry attack.

Throughout the progress of the battle itself low-flying airplanes not only maintain contact with our advancing infantry, reporting their position and signaling the earliest indications of hostile counterattack, but themselves join directly in the attack by engaging the enemy's infantry in line and in support with machine-gun fire and bombs, by assisting our artillery to dispense hostile concentrations and by spreading confusion among the enemy's transport, reinforcements, and batteries.

In answer to the concentrations of hostile machines on our front and the strenuous efforts made by the enemy to reassert himself in the air, the bombing of German aerodromes has been intensified, and has been carried out at great distances behind the enemy's lines. In more than one instance the enemy has been compelled to abandon particular aerodromes altogether as the result of our constant raids.

Besides his aerodromes, the enemy's railway stations and communications, his dumps and billets, have also been attacked with

increasing frequency and with most successful results.

The persistent raiding by hostile airplanes and airships of English cities and towns, and the enemy's open disregard of the losses thereby caused to civilian life and property, have recently decided our own Government to adopt countermeasures. In consequence of this decision, a series of bombing raids into Germany were commenced in October, 1917, and have since been continued whenever weather conditions have permitted.

In the discharge of duties, constantly increasing in number and importance, the Royal Flying Corps throughout the whole of the past year has shown the same magnificent offensive spirit which characterized its work during the Somme battle, combined with unsurpassed technical knowledge and practical skill.

The enemy, however, shows no sign of relaxing his endeavors in this department of war. While acknowledging, therefore, most fully the great effort that has been made to meet the ever-increasing demands of this most important service, I feel it my duty to point out once more that the position which has been won by the skill, courage, and devotion of our pilots can only be maintained by a liberal supply of the most efficient machines.

Before passing from the artillery and air services I wish to refer to the increasingly efficient work of the anti-aircraft and searchlight sections in France. The growing activity of the enemy's bombing squadrons has thrown a corresponding strain on these units. They have responded to the call with considerable success, and the frequency with which hostile aircraft are brought down by our ground defenses shows a satisfactory tendency to increase.

Cavalry

During the first days of the battle of Arras the depth of our advance enabled a limited use to be made of bodies of mounted troops. The cavalry showed much promptness and resource in utilizing such opportunities as were offered them, and at Monchy-le-Preux, in particular, performed most valuable service in support of and in co-operation with the infantry.

Tanks and Other Special Services

The gradual development of modern warfare during the past year has shown a very definite tendency to emphasize the importance of the various special services, while at the same time bringing their employment into closer co-ordination with the work of the principal arms.

Although throughout the major portion of the Ypres battle, and especially in its latter stages, the condition of the ground made the use of tanks difficult or impossible, yet

whenever circumstances were in any way favorable, and even when they were not, very gallant and valuable work has been accomplished by tank commanders and crews on a great number of occasions. Long before the conclusion of the Flanders offensive these new instruments had proved their worth and amply justified the labor, material, and personnel diverted to their construction and development.

In the course of the various operations in

which tanks have taken part—at Arras, Messines, and Ypres—officers and men have given frequent examples of high and self-sacrificing courage, as well as strong esprit de corps.

Trench mortars have continued to play an important part in supplementing the work of our artillery in trench warfare, and have also been used most effectively in the preliminary stages of our offensives. The personnel concerned have shown great skill and enterprise in obtaining the best results from the various types of mortars.

Machine-Gun Corps

During the past year the use of the machine gun in offensive warfare has been considerably extended. The machine-gun barrage has taken a definite place with the artillery barrage in covering the advance of our infantry, while the lighter forms of machine guns have proved of great assistance in the capture of hostile strong points. In these directions, as well as in the repulse of hostile counterattacks, great boldness and skill have been shown, and very valuable work has been done by all ranks of the machine-gun corps.

Royal Engineers

The prolonged period of active fighting and the vast amount of work involved by our different offensives have thrown a peculiarly heavy burden on the Royal Engineers, both preparatory to and during operations.

The field, signal, army troops, and tramway companies, together with pioneer and labor battalions, from home and overseas, have played an increasingly important part, not only in the preparation for our offensives, but also during the latter stages of the battles. The courage and enduring self-sacrifice displayed by all ranks, whether in the organization of captured positions or in the maintenance of forward communications under heavy shellfire, are deserving of the highest praise.

The tunneling companies have maintained their superiority over the enemy under ground, and the important tactical success achieved by the Messines mines is a sufficient testimony of their untiring efforts. They have taken a large share in the construction of dugouts and road-making during operations, and have worked with great courage and cheerfulness under conditions of much hardship and danger.

The successful manner in which the difficult problem of water supply during operations was overcome reflects great credit upon the Royal Engineers. My thanks are also due to the War Office staff concerned, and the manufacturers and their employees, for the special efforts made by them to meet the demands of the army in respect of the necessary machinery and plant.

The other engineer units, both in forward areas and on the lines of communication, have discharged their various special duties

with an equal skill and perseverance. The increased demand for accommodation, hospitals, and workshops on the lines of communication has been met with commendable promptitude, and the supply of engineer stores and materials, now required in vast quantities, has throughout been most efficiently maintained. A notable feature also is the progress which has been made in the devices for the concealment of troops and material.

Signal Services

The signal service, which at the end of the battle of the Somme had already grown into a great and intricate organization, has had even larger demands made upon it during the past year.

Apart from the perfecting and maintenance of rear communications, special provision has had to be made for carrying our communications forward as our troops have advanced. The measures adopted to this end have been skillfully devised and admirably carried out. In many cases, within a few hours of a successful operation large numbers of buried telephone circuits have been extended into the captured zone under very trying conditions; the provision of communications for artillery forward observation officers, &c., proceeding simultaneously with the organization of the new line. Thanks to the rapidity with which communications in the forward areas have been established, information of hostile concentrations has frequently been transmitted by their means from the front in time to enable the artillery to break up impending counterattacks.

The success which has attended the establishment of these forward communications has been largely due to the untiring energy and devotion to duty of the officers and men of the numerous small signal sections and detachments. On them has devolved, in circumstances of great difficulty and danger, the execution of the complicated schemes of communication necessitated by the present form of warfare.

The carrier pigeon service has also been greatly developed during the present year, and has proved extremely valuable for conveying information from attacking units to the headquarters of their formations.

Gas Services

Reference has been made earlier in this dispatch to the valuable services rendered by the special brigade, both on the defensive fronts and in the battle areas, where large quantities of gas were successfully discharged in preparation for our different offensives. These special troops have taken an active part also in our feint attacks and in the various measures taken to harass German divisions sent by the enemy to recuperate on the quieter portions of his front. Gas discharges have become matters of almost nightly occurrence, and have been carried out with success on all portions of the front from the

right of our line to the sea. In the period covered by this dispatch a total weight of nearly 2,000 tons of gas has been liberated in the course of 335 separate discharges.

Numerous new methods and devices have been put into practice with excellent results. Many of these have entailed very heavy work and great courage and devotion on the part of the personnel employed; but all demands have been met with unflinching cheerfulness and carried out with the greatest efficiency. Evidence of the serious casualties inflicted on the enemy by gas and kindred methods of offense continues to accumulate.

Field Survey Companies

Special mention again deserves to be made of the field survey companies, who throughout the year's operations have carried out their important functions with the utmost zeal and efficiency. With the assistance of the ordnance survey they have enabled an adequate supply of maps to be maintained in spite of the constant changes of the battle front. Their assistance has also been invaluable to our artillery in locating the enemy's new battery positions during the actual progress of battle.

The meteorological section has kept me furnished with valuable information concerning the probable course of the weather, in spite of the limited area from which the necessary data are now procurable.

Transportation Services

In describing the preparations for our offensives, constant reference has been made in the body of this dispatch to the work of the transportation services. The year has been one of rapid expansion in all branches of the various transportation services, and the manner in which the calls made upon them have been met is deserving of the highest praise.

During the present year the dock capacity allotted to the British armies in France has been thoroughly organized, and its equipment, efficiency of working, and capacity greatly improved. In the first nine months of this year the number of working cranes was more than doubled, and during the year the discharging capacity of the docks has proved equal to the maximum import requirements. The rate of discharge of vessels has been accelerated by 100 per cent., and the weekly average of ship-days lost has been reduced to nearly one-fifth of its January figures.

As regards railway expansion, the number of imported broad-gauge locomotives in traffic in France in October, 1917, was nearly ten times as great as at the end of 1916. The number of imported broad-gauge wagons in traffic shows a corresponding growth, and the necessary erecting and repairing shops for this increased rolling stock have been provided and equipped. Many hundred miles of broad-gauge track have been laid, also, both in immediate connection with our of-

fensives and for the general service of our armies.

The result of these different measures has naturally had a most marked effect upon the traffic-carrying capacity of the broad-gauge railway system as a whole. The average number of trains run daily during October, 1917, showed an increase of nearly 50 per cent. on the daily average for March.

Light railways have grown with a like rapidity, and the track operated at the end of October was already eight times as great as that working at the commencement of the year. During the same period the plant used in the making and upkeep of roads has been multiplied nearly seven times, rendering possible a very considerable improvement in the conditions of road transport. At the same time, the possibilities of inland water transport have been further developed, resulting in October, 1917, in an increase of 50 per cent. in the weekly traffic handled, as compared with the figures for January, 1917.

Forestry and Quarry Units

In the Spring of 1917 the activities of the army were extended by the formation of a forestry directorate, controlling Royal Engineer and Canadian forestry companies, to work certain forest areas in France and provide material for the use of our own and the French armies. Quarry companies have also been formed in immediate connection with the transportation services.

Some idea of the magnitude of the work involved can be gained from the fact that from quarries worked in a single locality over 600,000 tons of material were produced in the nine months ended Aug. 31, 1917. Between March and October of this year the total weekly output of road metal received in the army areas has nearly doubled. The average area of new and remade roads completed weekly during October was seven and a half times greater than the weekly average for March.

By September, 1917, the army had become practically self-supporting as far as regards timber, and during the active period of working, from May to October, over three-quarters of a million tons of timber were supplied for the use of the British Army. Included in this timber was material sufficient to construct over 350 miles of plank roads and to provide sleepers for 1,500 miles of railway, besides great quantities of sawn timber for hutting and defenses and many thousand tons of round timber for fascines and fuel. The bulk of the fuel wood is being obtained from woods already devastated by artillery fire.

These forestry and quarry units have proved of great value, and have been the source of very considerable economy. My special thanks are due to the French forestry authorities, as well as to the Comité Interallié des Bois de Guerre, for

their assistance in our negotiations regarding the acquisition of woods and forest areas.

Army Service Corps

The long period of active fighting, combined with the magnitude of our operations, has once more placed a heavy strain upon the personnel of the Army Service Corps and of the administrative services and departments generally. The difficulties of supply have been increased by the unavoidable congestion of the areas in which operations were taking place, as well as by the inevitable deterioration of roads and by long-distance shelling and bombing by the enemy.

In spite of all difficulties, the Army Service Corps has never failed to meet the needs of our troops in food, ammunition, material, and stores of all kinds. Particularly good work has been done by the motor transport drivers, who have shown the greatest gallantry and devotion to duty in getting forward the requisites of the army under heavy shellfire and during long hours of exposure.

Ordnance Corps

The energy and zeal of the Ordnance Corps have also been admirable. The intensity of our artillery preparations and bombardments has placed the heaviest demands upon the ordnance workshops in the repair and the overhauling of guns of all calibres. Work has been continued by day and night in order to keep our guns in action, and the unsparing efforts of officers and men have contributed in no small degree to the success of our operations.

Medical Services

The work of the medical service in all its branches has continued to afford me most valuable assistance. The high standard of efficiency displayed by all ranks of the medical service has resulted in an almost entire freedom from epidemic disease, and

has been the cause of much saving of life and limb among the wounded.

The devotion and gallantry of the Royal Army Medical Corps and of the Medical Corps of the overseas dominions during the recent operations have earned universal admiration and praise. Their work of collecting the wounded from the front has been of an exceptionally arduous nature, owing to the condition of the ground and weather. I regret that so many gallant officers and men have lost their lives in carrying out their duties.

The medical service of the United States of America has shared in the work of the British medical service and has given very valuable help.

I am much indebted to the devotion and work of the consulting surgeons and physicians and to the auxiliary services of the British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

The nursing services, several of whose members have unfortunately lost their lives from hostile air raids, have, as always, devoted themselves with untiring care and zeal to their work of mercy.

The excellent organization and administrative work of the medical services as a whole have given me entire satisfaction.

The work of the Army Veterinary Corps and of the mobile veterinary sections has been ably carried out and has contributed largely to the general efficiency of the army.

The Chaplain's Department

I take this opportunity to express, on behalf of all ranks of the British armies in France, our great appreciation of the devotion and self-sacrifice of the army Chaplains serving in France. No considerations of personal convenience or safety have at any time interfered with their work among the troops, the value of which is incalculable.

Tribute to Commanders and Allies

My thanks are again due to the army commanders for the complete loyalty and conspicuous ability with which they have carried out my plans during the past year. The task of launching three great offensives on different sectors of the British front, in addition to the almost constant fighting that has taken place in the neighborhood of Lens, has demanded professional knowledge, determination, and soundness of judgment of a very high order on the part of the commanders of the armies concerned. It required, moreover, the most willing and unselfish co-operation between armies, and an absolute subservience of all personal interests to the common good.

In all these respects the different army commanders have most completely fulfilled the high standard of character and ability required of them.

In the heavy and responsible work which they have so admirably performed the army commanders have been most loyally supported and assisted by their staff officers and technical advisers, as well as by the commanders and staffs of the units serving under them.

Staff

My Chief of the General Staff, Lieut. Gen. Sir L. E. Kiggell, K. C. B.; my Adjutant General, Lieut. Gen. Sir G. H. Fowke, K. C. B., and my Quartermaster General, Lieut. Gen. Sir R. C. Maxwell, K. C. B., as well as the other officers of my staff and my technical advisers at General Headquarters and on the lines of communication, have given me the greatest and most valuable assistance. I am glad once more to place on record the debt that I owe to them.

The entire absence of friction or discord which characterized the work of all services and departments during the Somme battle has constituted a most pleasing feature of the operations of the past year. There could be no better evidence of the singleness of purpose and determination of the armies as a whole and no stronger guarantee of victory.

Acknowledgment to the Navy

(64) The debt which the army owes to the navy grows ever greater as the years pass, and is deeply realized by all ranks of the British armies in France. As the result of the unceasing vigilance of the navy, the enemy's hope that his policy of unrestricted submarine warfare would hamper our operations in France and Flanders has been most signally disappointed. The immense quantities of ammunition and material required by the army, and the large numbers of men sent to us as drafts, continue to reach us with unfailing regularity.

To Home Authorities

In this connection, I desire once more to record the obligation of the army in the field to the different authorities at home, both civil and military, and to the great mass of men and women in Great Britain and throughout the empire who are working with such loyalty to enable our manifold requirements to be met.

The confidence which is felt throughout the army that the enemy can and will be beaten is founded on the firm conviction that their own efforts in the field will be supported to the limits of their power and resources by all classes at home.

To Britain's Allies

At the close of another year of fighting in France and Belgium, it is a source of great gratification to me to be able to record that nothing has occurred to mar the happy relations existing between the allied armies, or between our troops and the civil population in France and Belgium.

The feelings of good-will and comradeship which existed between the French and British Armies on the Somme have been continued in Flanders, where the same excellent relations have characterized the combined operations of the Belgian, French, and British troops.

During the present year the Portuguese expeditionary force has taken its place in the line, and for many months has held a sector of the British front. Though they have not been engaged in major offensive operations, yet in a number of raids and minor engagements the officers and men of the Portuguese expeditionary force have shown themselves gallant and efficient soldiers.

During the present year, also, the United States of America has entered the war, and has taken up its part in it with all the well-known energy and ability of that great nation. Already many thousands of American soldiers are in France. Warm as is the welcome they have received from the French people, nowhere will they find a more genuine or a more friendly greeting than among all ranks of the other great English-speaking armies. I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

D. HAIG, Field Marshal,
Commanding in Chief, British Armies in France.

Messages of King George and President Wilson

The following telegrams were exchanged by King George of England and the President of the United States:

Jan. 1, 1918.

On the occasion of the New Year I desire, Mr. President, to express to you my sincerest good wishes for your welfare and for the prosperity and success of the United States of America in the great undertaking to which they have set themselves under your leadership in support of the high principles of liberty and justice.

The powerful exertions which are being made by the great Republic which you represent afford the surest guarantee that

the high aims which we pursue in common will be happily achieved.

GEORGE R. I.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY

At this solemn hour, when the New Year looks upon a world red with the outpoured blood of the regeneration of the eternal rights of the peoples, and forecasts the happy achievement of universal safety and peace in the brotherhood of nations, your message comes to hearten the American people and strengthen their conviction of the righteousness of the great cause to which they have consecrated their lives and their national honor.

WOODROW WILSON.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The Wheel of Time



—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

CHRONOS: "I shall have to settle it for them, after all."

[Italian Cartoon]

The Colossus of Monte Grappo



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

GERMANY: "Der Teufel! I've been digging away here for two months, and have hardly made a dent."

ITALY: "You thought we were soft dough, but you have found we are granite."

[Russian Cartoon]

Hunger



—From *Novi Satirikon*, Petrograd

Will he occupy the vacant throne?

[French Cartoon]

The Cannon, God of Death

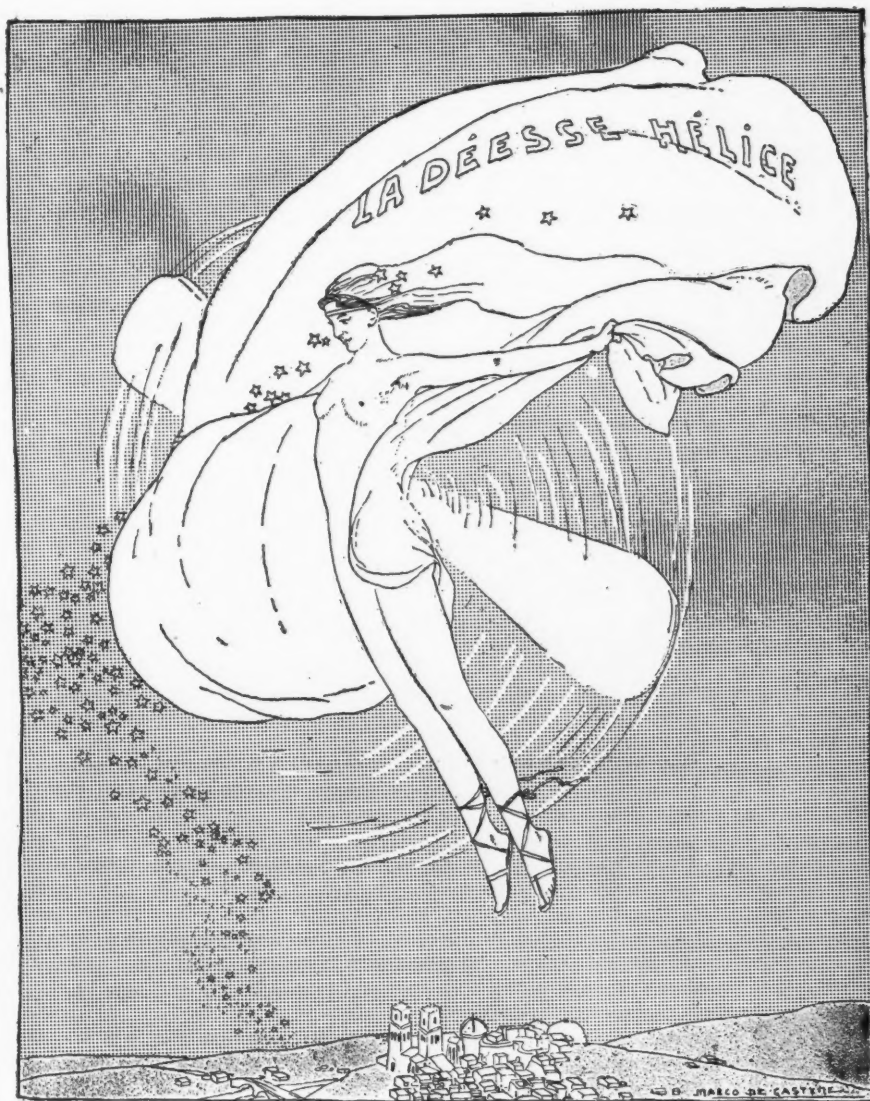


—From *La Baionnette*, Paris

“Dear soul! You are the only one I love to kiss on the mouth!”

[French Cartoon]

The Airplane Goddess



—From *La Baionnette*, Paris.

The power that hovers high in air over the battlefields.

[English Cartoon]
Signs of the Times



—From *London Opinion*.
Our grocer takes a walk on Sunday.

[American Cartoon]

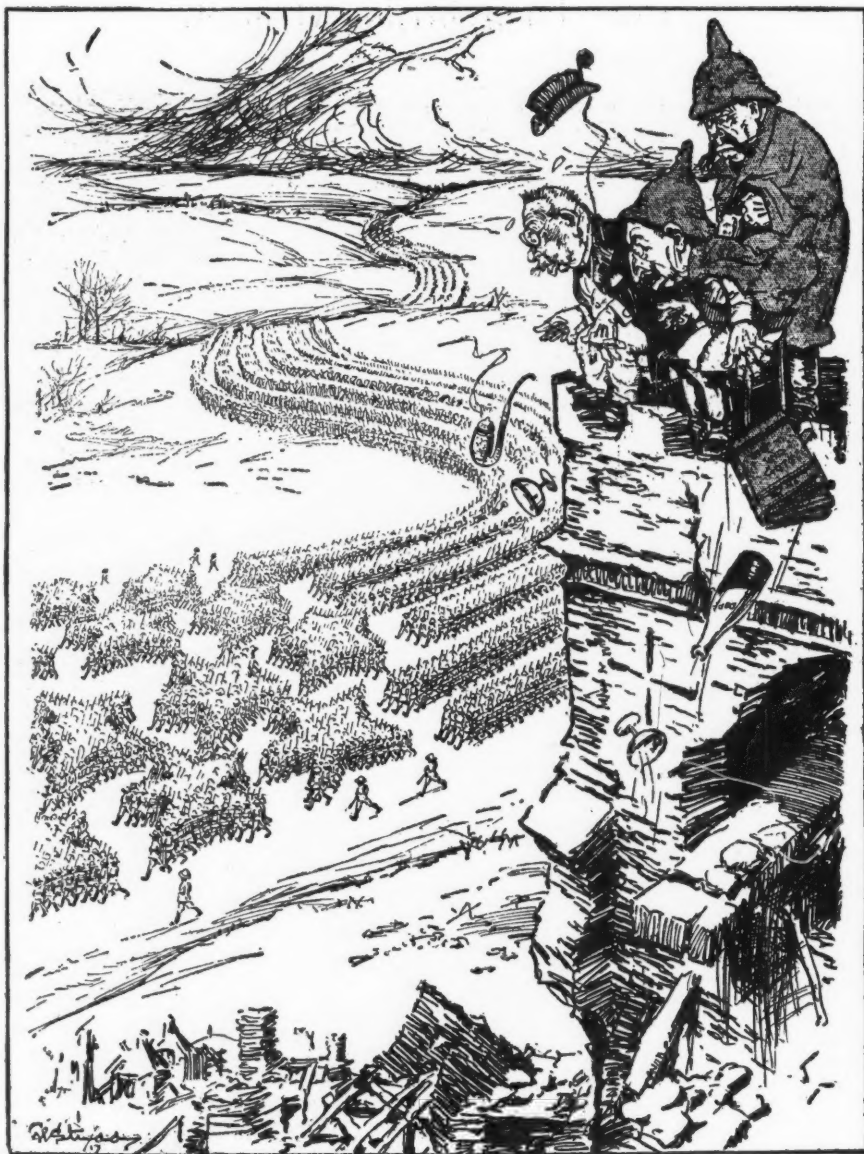
While the Shadow Lengthens



—From The New York Times.

[English Cartoon]

The Old Game of Bluff



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

OLD MAN DEUTSCH: "Himmel! Id looks like der Stars und Stripes!"

WILHELM: "Nonsense! Dey vos only some more contemptibles, ain't it, Hindy?"

HINDENBURG: "Ja wohl, All-Highest. Old man Deutsch vos a leedle bilious."

[English Cartoon]

The Insatiable Moloch



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

[American Cartoon]

Civilization Crucified!



—Chicago Herald.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Secret Diplomacy



—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.

"Never before was I as naked as this."

[After publication of secret treaties at
Petrograd]

[American Cartoon]

Forward Mit Gott!

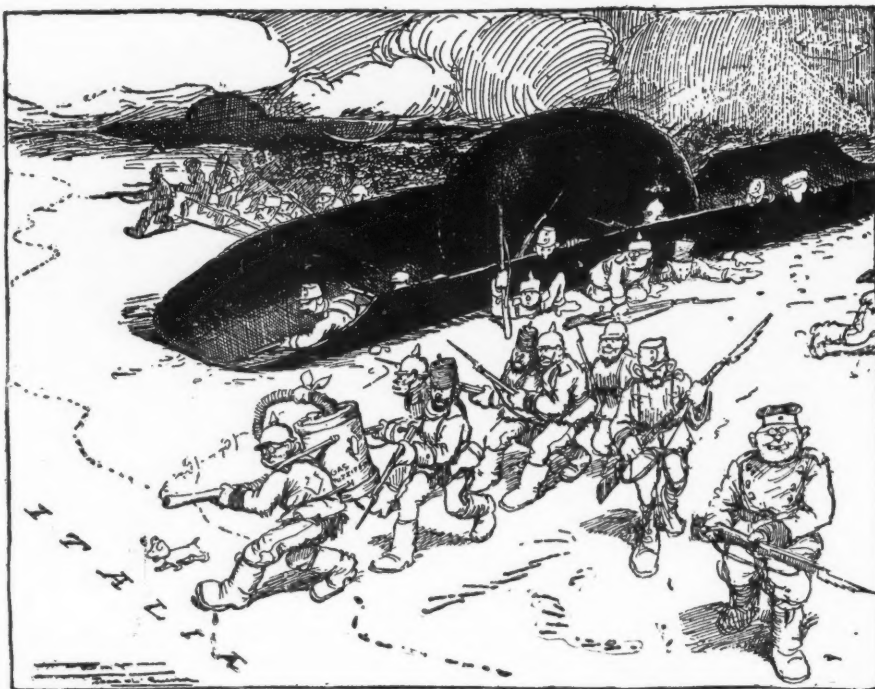


—From *The New York Herald*..

The great drive of 1918!

[Italian Cartoons]

The Boats on Which the Teutons Crossed the Isonzo



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

[One of many Italian cartoons in reply to an article in the Cologne Gazette, the German organ of the Jesuits, which declared that Italy was a vile traitor unfit to live. The "boats" are Jesuit hats.]

Obstacles on the Road to Venice



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

The riders thought the course was easy, but somehow the steeds think otherwise.

[Dutch Cartoons]

The Taking of Jerusalem



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

“Sound the Trumpet of Zion!”—Joel II., 1.

Russia's Peace Move



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

A place where extremes meet.

[American Cartoon]

“What Else Can I Do for You, Wilhelm?”



—From The Dayton News.

[American Cartoon]

Why He Always Falls Down



—From The Albuquerque Morning Journal.

[American Cartoon]

The Peacemaker



—From The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

[American Cartoon]
Not to Say "Mein Gott!"



—Los Angeles Times.

[English Cartoon]
The Baited Peace Trap



—National News, London.

KAISER: "He nearly had me once—but I've nearly got him now." (But has he?)

[English Cartoon]
The Outcasts at Jerusalem

[English Cartoon]
The Wailers at the Wall



—Westminster Gazette.



—The People, London.

[American Cartoons]

To Have and to Hold



Camouflage



His Days of Real Sport



"Almost Thou Persuadest Me to be a Christian"



—San Francisco Chronicle.

[American Cartoons]

Putting the Egg Back in the Shell



—Knickerbocker Press, Albany.

But Hohenzollernism won't go back into the Status Quo Ante.

His God



—Providence Journal.

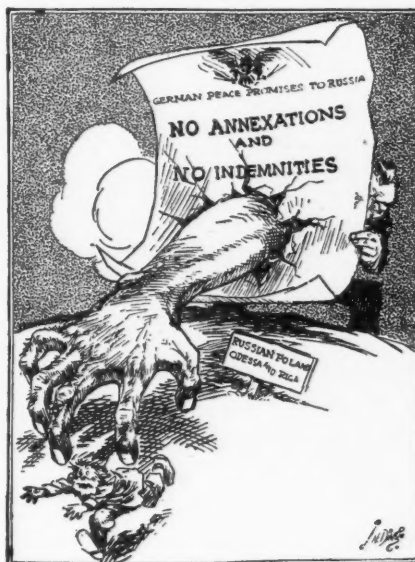
"Forward with God to Fresh Deeds and Fresh Victories!"

Will He See It?



—New York World.

Another Scrap of Paper



—New York Tribune.

[American Cartoons]

Fisherman's Luck



—San Francisco Call-Post.

A Tailor's Trick



—San Francisco Call-Post.

**"If You Want to do Business,
Call Off That Dog!"**



—Baltimore American.

**Look Out, Fritz, der Ladder
Iss Shaking!**



—Baltimore American.

How a young man rose from Auditor to General Manager

—and how it took him only three short years to do it

Thirty-six months ago, just three short years from the time you read this message, this man was earning the average moderate pay of an auditor for a Light and Power Company.

Today this same man is the General Manager—the active executive head of a consolidation of eleven similar Systems—and his yearly earnings have increased right along with his responsibilities.

While filling the position of auditor he realized that, to outgrow that position, he needed a much broader business knowledge than he could possibly acquire thru mere contact with his daily work.

With this idea fixed firmly in his mind, this then auditor—now chief executive—enrolled for the Modern Business Course and Service of the Alexander Hamilton Institute.

The application of the lesson

Soon after his enrolment, he laid before his Chief a plan for organizing a Public Utility Company. The Chief expressed his surprise that a man occupying the place of an auditor should possess so thoro a knowledge of the details the plan contained.

It was upon this plan that the Corporation was organized, a Corporation which since has acquired ten other Electric Light and Power Systems. The former auditor holds the office of Secretary in these Corporations, and is the General Manager of them all.

He says: "Thru the application of the business principles which the Course teaches, I have been enabled during the past year to successfully assume



larger responsibilities in connection with the business management of public utilities properties than were given me when I held a position of auditor.

I feel that it has been largely on account of your Modern Business Course that my advancement was brought about.

The point is this—

This man first mastered these principles, then applied them to his business needs. After that his advancement was rapid. His principles were *right*.

The need for trained business men is great

The Alexander Hamilton Institute lays before you—in interesting, easily readable form, for absorption in your leisure hours—the fundamentals which underlie *all* business. Thus, after acquiring the broad basic business facts it brings to you, you are equipped and ready for bigger responsibilities.

This man's experience is only one of hundreds.

Stories of success like the one related here are constantly coming to the Institute. In every instance the writers are enthusiastic in their praise of the Course and the training it has given them to assume greater responsibilities with increased profit to themselves.

Get more information

A careful reading of the interesting 112-page book, "Forging Ahead In Business," which we will send you free, will show you how to prepare for the increasing number of business opportunities that are bound to come during the next few years.

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THE MAD MONK OF RUSSIA— ILIODOR

Life, Confessions, and

Memoirs of

Sergius M. Trufanoff



PERHAPS the most amazing of all the amazing books that have come out of Russia,—the authentic memoirs of Sergius M. Trufanoff.

Mr. Trufanoff, as many Americans know, was for many years the closest friend and confidant of Rasputin, the "holy devil" of the Russian court. As Father Iliodor, Abbot of the great Russian monastery of Tsaritzin, he was entrusted with the preparation of Rasputin for the priesthood, and

the latter, at a time when he was hard pressed by his accusers, sought in every way to promote the fortunes of his friend in order to gain his powerful support and that of his immense popular following. Later, Iliodor obtained indisputable evidence of the scandalous "exploits" of Rasputin. He then broke off his irksome friendship and led a popular campaign not only against the "holy devil" himself but also against the Holy Synod and the Czar and Czarina who shielded Rasputin from the indignation of the Russian people. Unfrocked and imprisoned, Iliodor escaped to Norway and eventually to New York, where he is living at present, although recent rumors have stated that he was leading a successful counter-revolution in Southern Russia.

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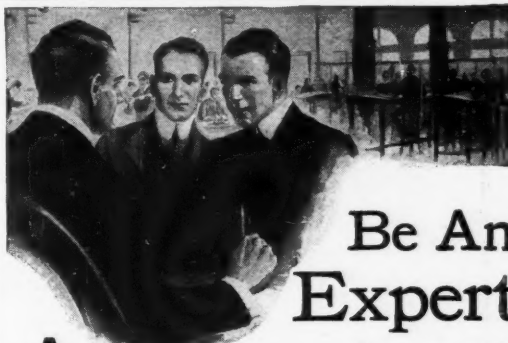


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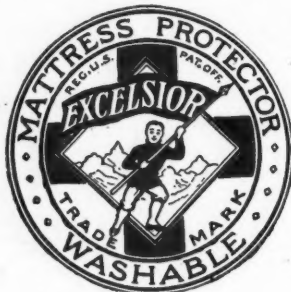
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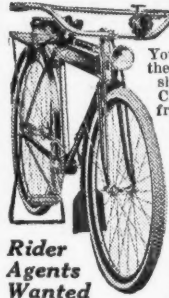
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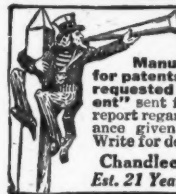
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